

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FREEDOM OF INFORMATION/PRIVACY ACTS SECTION
COVER SHEET

SUBJECT: HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

FILE NUMBER: 100-14160

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
New York, New York

MMC:ERL

March 8, 1941

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

#407224
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-17-98 BY SP7027/LKD

Re: [REDACTED]
PROFESSOR HENRY S. COMMAGER
INTERNAL SECURITY

Dear Sir:

For the information of the Bureau I am setting forth the contents of a memorandum recently submitted by Special Agent [REDACTED] of this office:

"On February 14, 1941 [REDACTED] of the Mamaroneck, New York Police Department, telephonically advised the writer that he was in receipt of a communication from [REDACTED] in which [REDACTED] stated that he wanted a discreet investigation conducted concerning [REDACTED] Professor HENRY S. COMMAGER, whom resided at 305 Barry Avenue, Mamaroneck, New York.

[REDACTED] stated that he thought it a bit unusual to receive a request of this nature [REDACTED] feeling that such a request should have come to his office from the F. B. I. However, he stated that he would do as requested, but wished to be advised if this office had any record concerning these persons.

I caused a search to be made of the indices in this office and was advised that we have no record on either of these two persons, and a letter advising [REDACTED] of this fact has been transmitted to him."

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Very truly yours,

SE

B. E. Sackett

B. E. SACKETT,
Special Agent in Charge

MAR 10 1941

cc - Richmond

FIVE DKE

Mr. Tolson _____
 Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
 Mr. Clegg _____
 Mr. Glavin _____
 Mr. Ladd _____
 Mr. Nichols _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Tracy _____
 Mr. Carson _____
 Mr. Egan _____
 Mr. Gurnea _____
 Mr. Harbo _____
 Mr. Hendon _____
 Mr. Pennington _____
 Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
 Mr. Nease _____
 Miss Gandy _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 9-17-98 BY SP7CT/HMA

September 23, 1947

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. NICHOLS

HENRY S. COMMAGER

Subject: Henry Steele Commager
 Author "Who is Loyal in the U.S."
 Sept 1947 Harpers.

Pursuant to your request for information in our files relative to captioned individual, the following is submitted.

Commager arrived as a passenger on the Queen Elizabeth at the port of New York, January 25, 1943, and was interviewed in accordance with the practice at that time along with all other passengers. His passport indicated that he was born October 25, 1902, at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. At the time of the interview, he advised that he had been employed at Columbia University for three years and had been in England for special service as a lecturer at Cambridge University for three months. He indicated that he was returning to the United States to resume his professorship at Columbia University. He stated that he resided with his family at 30 Grace Church, Rye, New York. It is noted that the investigative report from New York makes reference to New York file 47-2634 which has not been identified in the Bureau. The statement is made that this New York file indicates that while Mr. Commager was residing at 303 Barry Avenue, Mamaroneck, New York, an investigation concerning him was conducted by the Mamaroneck Police Department with negative results. The nature of this investigation is not indicated, but it is noted that the New York file bears an impersonation classification number. (100-140176-20)

Commager was interviewed by Agents of the New York Office again on September 23, 1943, when he returned to this country on a Pan-American Clipper. At that time, he advised that he was a professor of history at Columbia University on loan to the War Department and OWI as consultant on the history of the war. He stated that he was returning to his home at the address given above. (100-1403-365)

It is noted that file 100-333949-A contains a clipping from the Daily Worker, of July 19, 1946, commenting upon a review by Commager of former Ambassador Bullitt's book attacking Soviet Russian policies. This review is reported to have appeared in the New York Herald Tribune. The clipping from the Daily Worker states:

"Professor Commager makes clear that he is himself in disagreement with Soviet policies, but he says that Bullitt doesn't even try to understand these policies."

RECORDED
 INDEXED

EX-41

Memorandum for Mr. Nichols

September 23, 1947

A quotation is then given from Commager's book review as follows:

"On the contrary, so gross are the distortions, so fallacious the arguments, so blatant the omissions, so immoral the proposals of this book that it can only serve to promote misunderstanding."

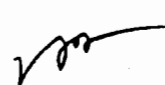
Commager's name was submitted for membership consideration in ^{Nov. 194} the American Committee for Democratic and Intellectual Freedom, which is reported to be Communist dominated, although many of its members are not themselves Communists. It is not known what action was taken in this connection, but it is noted that Commager apparently had not been contacted concerning the submission of his name, inasmuch as it was recommended that preliminary investigation be made to determine whether he would be interested in membership. (100-7063-84)

It is noted that file 100-14160-1 reflects that the [REDACTED] ^{67C} in early 1941, requested the Mamaroneck, New York Police Department to conduct a discreet investigation regarding Commager. This may be the investigation to which the New York report, referred to above, made reference. No other information regarding Commager could be located in general files.

Respectfully,


M. A. Jones

ADDENDUM: Indices were rechecked for a "47" Bureau file corresponding to New York 47-2634. Results were negative. As pointed out in the last paragraph above, however, this may possibly be explained by a difference in classification and the Bureau file may be 100-14160. You may wish to check with the New York Office to verify this.



Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

DATE: June 29, 1949

FROM : D. M. Ladd

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9-17-92 BY SP7C/T/760

SUBJECT: HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

Mr. Tolson ✓
 Mr. Clegg ✓
 Mr. Glavin ✓
 Mr. Ladd ✓
 Mr. Nichols ✓
 Mr. Rosen ✓
 Mr. Tracy ✓
 Mr. Egan ✓
 Mr. Gurnea ✓
 Mr. Harbo ✓
 Mr. Mohr ✓
 Mr. Pennington ✓
 Mr. Quinn Tamm ✓
 Tele. Room ✓
 Mr. Nease ✓
 Miss Holmes ✓
 Miss Gandy ✓

Pursuant to your instructions, the investigative files of the Bureau have been reviewed concerning the above-captioned individual and the pertinent information regarding him is set out below.

BACKGROUND:

HENRY STEELE Commager was born October 25, 1902, at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. He was interviewed as a passenger on the Queen Elizabeth at New York on January 25, 1943. At that time he advised he had been employed at Columbia University for three years and had been in England as a lecturer at Cambridge University for the past three months. At that time, he resided at 30 Grace Church, Rye, New York. He was again interviewed by Agents at New York on September 23, 1943, upon returning to this country via Pan-American Clipper. He stated he was on loan from Columbia University to the War Department and OWI as a Consultant on the history of the war. (100-14160-2)

At the present time, Commager is a Professor of History at Columbia University and is the author of numerous articles and books.

BOOKS AND ARTICLES BY COMMAGER

In the September 1947 issue of "Harper's Magazine," Commager wrote an article entitled, "Who Is Loyal to America?" This article criticizes the official objections raised to a lecture given by Mrs. Shura Lewis at Western High School in Washington on May 6, 1947. In this lecture Mrs. Lewis discussed Russia, its school system, public health program, etc. She compared Russian social institutions to those in America. In this article by Commager, he defends Mrs. Lewis against all criticism and criticizes certain members of Congress, District of Columbia Educational System, and others who spoke out against Mrs. Lewis. He discusses at length the "new loyalty" which he characterizes as "conformity." He objects to the imposition of fixed concepts of loyalty or tests of disloyalty. (61-7559-2-6264)

This article was widely distributed by the Communist Party and Communist-front organizations. [REDACTED] (100-333625)

On November 28, 1947, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] received a communication from [REDACTED] of New York City. This article was addressed to the "Organization Secretaries." Among other things discussed in the article, Commager's article in Harper's Magazine was briefly outlined regarding his criticism of the loyalty program. (100-3-72-246)

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100-14160-3

A confidential informant furnished an outline dated September 8, 1947, issued by the New York State Communist Party suggesting that certain special approaches to different groups be made. One of these listed under the "Dennis Case and Liberals, Intellectuals, and Middle Class and the Thomas Witch-Hunt" was that a very good article by Commager appeared in the September issue of "Harper's Magazine" in which

Memorandum to The Director

he attacks the witch-hunt very sharply. It was pointed out that reprints will be available. (100-3-4-6314, page 8)

In a form letter sent out by the Civil Rights Congress on November 26, 1947, attention was called to Commager's article in "Harper's Magazine." It was stated that this article contained a careful analysis of the current problems facing thinking Americans. (61-10149-612)

In the "Daily Worker" for July 15, 1946, there was an article attacking former Ambassador to Russia, William C. Bullitt, for urging the United States to drop atomic bombs on the Soviet Union. Commager is quoted in the "Daily Worker" as making the following statement concerning Bullitt's article, "So gross are the distortions, so fallacious the arguments, so blatant the omissions, so immoral the proposals of this book that it can only serve to promote misunderstandings." (62-59489) Commager's article is also praised in the "Daily Worker" for September 4, 1947, by the writer Samuel Sillen. (100-333949 Sub A)

Another article by Commager appeared in the "New York Times Magazine Section" for August 22, 1948. This article was entitled, "Should We Outlaw the Communist Party." Commager pointed out that the Party should not be outlawed as this would violate a basic fundamental right guaranteed by the Constitution. (100-3-74 Sub A) In the "Daily Worker" for August 27, 1948, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn mentioned the "New York Times" article by Commager, and although critical of certain statements Commager made, which she points out were probably made lest someone might believe he were a Communist, does agree with most of the article. (100-3 Sub 70 Sub A)

Another article by Commager appeared in the "New York Times Magazine Section" for June 26, 1949, entitled, "The Real Danger - Fear of Ideas." Commager's article indicates that this middle state (fear of ideas) is being fostered by the drive on "disloyalty." He ridicules the expenditures of large sums under the loyalty program and states that the FBI has as yet adduced no evidence that traitors and spies and subversives have been able to work substantial harm to the nation. He points out that as yet there are no definitions of disloyalty. He then states, "Thus J. Edgar Hoover listed among the 'easy tests' to determine a Communist-front organization: 'Does the organization receive consistent favorable mention in Communist publications?' Clearly, all that is needed here is for The Daily Worker to give consistently favorable mention to the Daughters of the American Revolution and the American Legion for these organizations to come under the ban." He ends this article by pointing out that the danger that confronts us (from such things as the loyalty program) then is graver by far than any danger that arises from the activities of the Communists or subversives in America."

On November 17, 1947, [REDACTED] contacted the Washington Bookshop and stated that she had not received her copies of the reprint of the Commager article that appeared in "Harper's Magazine" for September 1947. These copies were being sold by the Bookshop. (62-58854-140)

MISCELLANEOUS ACTIVITIES:

Henry Steele Commager's name appeared on a list of invitees to a "Survival

Memorandum to The Director

Conference" called by [REDACTED] in connection with the attempt to establish the National Council of Arts, Sciences, and Professions as a Division of the Progressive Citizens of America. This Conference was to be held in June of 1948. (100-338892) b7x

There was found in the possession of [REDACTED] an analysis of an article by Commager which appeared in "The Nation" magazine for April 5, 1947, entitled "Washington Witch-Hunt." Commager stated that the language of the Executive Order of the President is "an invitation to witch-hunting which is repugnant to our Constitutional system." The article further stated, "What guaranty is there that J. Edgar Hoover may not some day be Attorney General, Hoover who recently asserted that 'so-called progressives and phony liberals' are little better than Communists? Should the designation by such men of organizations as being subversive be the standard, then?"

[REDACTED]

(40-46866-138)

On September 20, 1948, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised an informant that a new committee had been organized for the purpose of obtaining a visa for the Dean of Canterbury, Hewlett Johnson. The name of Henry Steele Commager was listed on this committee. (100-15351-22)

An informant of the New York Office advised on July 23, 1946, that he had received information from [REDACTED] that Professor Commager of Columbia University was making Communistic addresses and remarks which appeared to be harmful and not to the best interests of the Government of the United States. (100-3-4-5743)

*Above all shows another
fellow-traveler is speaking
his piece time to form.*

H.

SERVICE UNIT
SEARCH SLIP
Supervisor add ⁶⁷⁰ ₅₇₃₆ F-19a

Subj: Henry Steel Commager

Exact Spelling
✓ All References
Subversive Ref
Main File
Restricted to Locality of
Searchers
Initial rec
Date 6/27/49

FILE NUMBER

SERIALS

100-32520-697 LT. Dunbar
100-3-4- 634 & Frederick
100-7466 77 Times Magazine
100-24699- 523 LT. Hopper
61-7559-2-6264 Cent. Intelligence
100-3-70-A- D.J. Hopper
100-15351- 22 LT. Hopper
100-333625-196 LT. Hopper
100-333592-416 LT. Hopper
100-7063-84
100-59489-A- 7-15-46
100-3-72- 246
100-24699-201 same as above

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SERVICE UNIT
SEARCH SLIP
Supervisor add ₅₇₃₆ F-19a

Subj: Henry Steel Commager

Exact Spelling
✓ All References
Subversive Ref
Main File
Restricted to Locality of
Searchers
Initial rec
Date 6-27-49

FILE NUMBER

SERIALS

100-333625-196 188
Henry S. Commager
100-14161
100-14161 (rum)
Henry Steel Commager
100-14161
62-82273-292X20
100-333625-169 LT. Hopper
62-58854-140
101-10149-612
40-46866-138p37
100-333947-A- 7-24-46
100-333625-164 LT. Hopper

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SERVICE UNIT

F-19a

SEARCH SLIP

Supervisor Led ROOM 5726

Subj: Henry Steele Commager

☒ Exact Spelling

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☒ All References

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Date 6-27-47

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FILE NUMBER

SERIALS

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-94-4-5522-A 15-29-47

DW 7-17-46

-121-2673-3

100-333625-178

100-333949-A 7-17-46

H. S. Commager

NT

Prof. Comminger

100-3-4-5743p2

100-333625-188

-3-

Initialed

The Real Danger—Fear of Ideas

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Gandy _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-17-98 BY SP7CJ/K

FOUR times in our history we have given way to fear of ideas and indulged in measures of suppression and oppression.

The first example occurred in the Seventeen Nineties and early Eighteen Hundreds, when "the wise, the rich, and the well-born," that is, the Federalists, frightened out of their wits by the excesses of the French Revolution abroad and Thomas Jefferson at home, enacted the lamentable Alien and Sedition laws.

The second example came in the Eighteen Fifties when the slave-owning South, convulsed by fear for the "peculiar institution," drove out those who criticized it, gagged the press, censored the mail, purged colleges, and, in the end, seceded from the Union.

In the third example, in the Eighteen Nineties, respectable gentlemen, especially in the East, deluded themselves that the Populist party was made up of anarchists, that all labor leaders carried sticks of dynamite in their pockets, that Peter

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, Professor of History at Columbia University, is the author of "America in Perspective" and other works.

Professor Commager says that this mental state is being fostered by the drive on "disloyalty."

By HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

Altgeld was a new Benedict Arnold and William Jennings Bryan an anti-Christ.

The fourth instance of hysteria came after World War I when Americans whipped themselves into a frenzy over a bugaboo of bolshevism sweeping the United States, deported hundreds of harmless aliens, sent Eugene Debs to a Federal penitentiary, purged Legislatures of Socialists and spread syndicalist laws and teachers' oath laws on their statute books.

IT is a sobering thought that none of these past hysterias was a reaction to anything that really threatened the American Republic, the Constitution or our democracy and, moreover, that we have acknowledged and repented these mistakes of the past. The Alien and Sedition Acts were repealed and their victims compensated. Southerners are satisfied now that slavery was a great wrong. Practically every plank in the Populist platform of 1892 has since been enacted into law.

We are not proud of our record of the Twenties.

Yet we have not, it seems, learned anything from history. With all these precedents to give us pause, we are now embarked upon a campaign of suppression and oppression more violent, more reckless, more pervasive, and ultimately more dangerous than any in our history.

What is the explanation of the present hysteria? Are we, in fact, in danger? Are we disunited, and torn by dissension? The contrary is true. Never before have the American people shown themselves to be as united as in this last decade.

It was not always thus. Jefferson in his First Inaugural Address said this was the only country "where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order as his own personal concern." But that was not true during the Revolution, when about one-

memo to
Dist. from Federal
on commager
6-29-49
encl.

Slanted critical of
the FBI.

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THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE
June 26, 1949

5 encl



The bogey of hysteria—"Are we, in fact, in danger? Are we disunited and torn by dissension? The contrary is true."

Drawing by William Sharp.

third of the American people were loyal, another third have been able to work substantial harm to the nation. It was not true during the War of 1812, when large numbers of the people bitterly opposed the war and effectively sabotaged it. It was not true during the Mexican War, when opposition to war was widespread and ardent in the North. It was not true during the Civil War, when both North and South were torn by internal dissension. Yet it is an interesting fact that we fought all these wars without sedition acts or loyalty oaths.

IN the first World War there was considerable opposition from pro-German and pro-Irish segments and from unregenerate isolationists, but for the most part Americans were united. In the second World War the American people were united as never before in their history. There was less opposition to war, less sabotage than in any previous war. Political parties sank their differences; racial and national groups, labor and capital united in the common cause.

We emerged from World War II incomparably the strongest, the richest, the best armed nation on the globe. We are almost tempted to say, with Horace Walpole back in 1763, "throw

away your Greek and Latin books: histories of little peoples." Nor is our strength purely material or military. We are the oldest republic, the oldest federal system, the oldest democracy, in the world. Our nation, and our Constitution, has withstood the vicissitudes of 160 years. Our people are intelligent and they are moral.

NEVERTHELESS, we see evidences of anxiety and hysteria all around us—in the stir and bustle of federal and state un-American activities committees, in loyalty investigations, in the purging of schools and colleges, in witch-hunting and censorship, in our frenzy over such silly but innocuous things as the Cultural Conference at the Waldorf, in a hundred other manifestations, governmental and popular. This hysteria has certain marked characteristics.

First, this hysteria is concerned with rooting out subversives generally—a justifiable objective when revolutionary activity has gone underground or into labyrinthine ways. However, the hue and cry goes on without regard for the fact that the Department of Justice and the FBI, ceaselessly active in the enforcement of the forty-some laws against treason, espionage, and so on, have as yet adduced no evidence that traitors and spies and subversives

have been able to work substantial harm to the nation.

Second, the current program is directed, clearly, toward subversives of the Left rather than of the Right, toward Communists and fellow-travelers or—as the House Committee on Un-American Activities once put it felicitously—against the "New Deal in various shades of communism." Thus, it is relevant to note that several teachers lost their jobs because of activities in behalf of Henry Wallace's Progressives, but none because of activity for the Dixiecrat organization. Yet it was the States Rights party that was openly engaged in activities designated by the Attorney General as subversive in its denial of rights under the Constitution.

THIRD, the drive is proceeding without any clear-cut idea of what it is aimed at. Notwithstanding a decade of intense concern with disloyalty, subversive conduct, and un-American activity, we do not yet have definitions of any of these terms. The House committee has not defined them, nor has Congress or the Attorney General. It is easy to sympathize with this situation, for definition of these terms is all but impossible. But the Constitution is clear enough on treason, and so, too, are existing laws on espionage. Who, then, is to determine and

by what criteria just what is un-American or subversive?

Some efforts have been made, but they illustrate admirably, and alarmingly, the danger inherent in all such attempts. Thus J. Edgar Hoover listed among the "easy tests" to determine a Communist-front organization: "Does the organization have a consistent record of support of the American viewpoint over the years?" But he does not tell us what the "American viewpoint" is, or who is to determine the consistency of record. Another of his tests: "Does the organization receive consistent favorable mention in Communist publications?" Clearly, all that is needed here is for The Daily Worker to give consistently favorable mention to the



Daughters of the American Revolution and the American Legion for these organizations to come under the ban.

Fourth, the campaign against "subversives," like all campaigns of its kind, here and abroad, has an inherent and inevitable tendency to spread out, and, in the end, to proscribe any ideas which the dominant forces in the community may not like.

HOW else explain the attack on the loyalty of Senator Graham of North Carolina in the Senate itself; the proposal of the Regents of the University of Nebraska to bar discussion that may "plant the seeds of subversion"; Louis Bromfield's argument that sale of colored oleomargarine will advance communism; Representative Brown's comment on the decision of the British court to free Gerhart Eisler:

"What gratitude. What a shining example of international cooperation. What a great demonstration of appreciation by the British Government of the sacrifices we have been making to aid the British people!"

In this statement the basic assumption is that justice is for sale.

What are the fears behind the present hysteria and the dangers created by each of these fears?

First is the fear of Communist infiltration into the Government. This fear has led to a vast and expensive series of investigations into "un-American" activities, plus

widely inclusive "loyalty" checks. The shabby antics practiced in the past by the House Committee on Un-American Activities are so familiar that they do not require rehearsal. President Truman attempted to provide the loyalty check with proper safe-

guards; what is most impressive about it is the paucity of returns so far. Out of 2,500,000 employees checked fewer than 10,000 required further investigation.

THE precise number dismissed for alleged disloyalty or subversive activities, or merely because they were "poor security risks"—whatever that phrase may mean—is almost impossible to determine. It is, apparently, well under 500, though it should be added that an additional 3,000 or so have resigned under investigation. Even more impressive is the fact that, so far as the public has been informed, none of all those investigated or dismissed has been formally charged with any crime against the United States.

The danger created by this first fear is in the techniques evolved to prevent Communist infiltration. The safeguards which Mr. Truman hoped to establish have proved completely inadequate. It is probably improper to lay responsibility for this at the door of Mr. Truman or of Attorney General Tom Clark; it is rather that disregard of elementary principles of fair play is implicit in any such program. Though we do not, to be sure, know the whole story or even much of it, we do know that the Attorney General was authorized to draw up his own list of "subversive" organizations; that organizations thus branded had no opportunity to have a hearing; that the mere creation of such a list introduced to our law the odious principle of guilt by association.

We know something of the kind of questions asked of employees suspected of disloyalty. The first rule adopted by the Civil Service Commission, back in 1884, reads as follows: "No question in any form of application or in any examination shall be so framed as to elicit information concerning the political or religious opinions or affiliations of any applicant, nor shall any inquiry be made concerning such opinions or affiliations, and all disclosures thereof shall be discountenanced."

YET here are some of the questions asked at loyalty examinations:

What do you think of the third party formed by Henry Wallace? Is your wife a churchgoer? Do you read a good many books? How do you explain the fact that you have an album of Paul Robe-

son records in your home? Do you believe that Negro blood should be segregated in the Red Cross blood bank? Which newspaper do you read? Would you say that your wife has liberal political viewpoints?

J. Edgar Hoover advised the chairman of the National Labor Relations Board that an employee of that office "is known to have radical tendencies leaning toward communism. It is further reported that X has studied anthropology and has been affiliated with the NLRB for three years. It was also reported that X visited Mexico City to observe the Presidential election (of 1946) in that country."

A SECOND fear—that Communists or subversives will give away military or scientific secrets—has encouraged the dangerous notion that secrecy and security are synonymous, strengthened the demand for the return of control over atomic energy to the military, given impetus to the current attack on David Lilienthal, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, and threatened the whole program of scientific research with confusion. That foreign spies are active may be taken for granted; it should be taken equally for granted that the FBI and our military counter-intelligence are on the job.

The danger created by this second fear concerns our national security. There can be no secret of atomic energy that foreign, let us say Russian, scientists will not discover. Our security lies not in secrecy but first in the preservation of peace, and second in the encouragement of the best scientific brains in the country to work on atomic energy and other scientific measures. They can work properly only in an atmosphere of freedom.

It is well to remember that the military did not develop the atomic bomb but civilians did; and that scientists, who are presumably as patriotic as Congressmen, are opposed to loyalty checks. Dr. W. A. Higginbotham has noted that 100 competent scientists have been barred from Government work without a hearing, and without reasons. If we discourage or fail to use our available scientific talent we

may be ourselves dropping behind in the atomic race.

A third fear sweeping the country is that of subversive teachings in schools and colleges. Half a dozen states have already enacted teachers' oaths and similar legislation; others may confidently be expected to follow the examples of New York, Illinois and Washington in proscribing not only Communists but "subversives."

IN New York the Board of Regents is authorized to draw on any list prepared by any Federal agency for its own list of subversive organizations. When we recall that the Attorney General's and House committee's lists run to several hundred, and that among these are such harmless organizations as the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, we can realize the dangerous potentialities of such a program.

The real danger created by this third fear is that legislatures will produce an atmosphere of suspicion and timidity, that they will discourage independence of thought, original investigation, and association. Before we put a premium on conformity in our schools, we would do well to note the admonition of Dean Wilbur J. Bender of Harvard University:

"The world is full of dangerous ideas, and we are both naive and stupid if we believe that the way to prepare intelligent young men to face the world is to try to protect them from such ideas while they are in college. Four years in an insulated nursery will produce gullible innocents, not tough-minded realists who know what they believe because they have faced the enemies of their beliefs."

THESE are some major manifestations of the current hysteria; scores of others could be added, but they would merely elaborate the pattern rather than enlarge it. That there is a pattern is clear; it is a pattern of fear and suppression. The peril is perhaps more serious today than in the days of the Alien and Sedition Acts or the slavery controversy, for now the whole world is interested in our effort to maintain the traditional liberty with order.

The current program of sup-

pression seriously endangers effective operation of our democracy. It lowers the morale of the civil service, puts a premium there on conformity, and discourages men of real ability from entering government service. It endangers the morale of American science by putting a premium on mediocrity in a field requiring independence, originality, and full freedom of inquiry and of communication. It strengthens the hand of the military in areas traditionally and wisely entrusted to civilian control.

IT imperils freedom of teaching in elementary, secondary, and higher schools by requiring conformity in standards, by introducing the grave peril of censorship of textbooks and ideas, and by driving away from the teaching profession men and women of independent minds. It creates an atmosphere in which teachers find safety not in orthodox ideas—for they will never know surely just which ideas are orthodox—but in no ideas. In the end we will get a generation of children taught by teachers who are afraid of ideas. Such children cannot grow up into wise and competent citizens.

The current program threatens the right and the necessity of criticism. No government can operate successfully without criticism, and no government that tries to distinguish between "safe" and "subversive" criticism will get the kind of criticism that it needs. The more we learn of the inner history of the Nazi and the Fascist regimes, the more we realize that perhaps the basic reason for their self-destructive policies was precisely this suppression of criticism.

Finally, the current program strikes at one of the most precious of all rights, one essential to the effective operation of democracy—the

right of association. The practice of voluntary association is a peculiarly English and American practice. The Pilgrim Fathers associated themselves into a compact—incidentally it was a subversive one from the point of view of the English Government—and since that time Americans have customarily operated through thousands of voluntary associations: political parties, parent-teachers, veterans, business, fraternal, philanthropic, recreational, learned, and others. It is in these associations that the average American has found more training for self-government and real democracy than the famed town meeting. A policy that discourages or crushes voluntary associations will dry up the very roots of American democracy.

THE danger that confronts us, then, is graver by far than any danger that arises from the activities of Communists or subversives in America. The American system is strong enough to stand competition from communism or any other ism. The American people are intelligent enough to resist subversive doctrines. Only at our peril may we depart from those traditions of freedom of thought, speech, inquiry, and communication which have carried us triumphantly through the vicissitudes of the past and brought us to our present proud position.

Since the conquest of Greece by Rome, history has frequently recorded instances where the vanquished have imposed their ideas upon the victors. Will history record that the great American democracy, at the moment of its greatest triumph and its greatest strength, yielded to the thought-control technique of the Japanese, the intolerance of the Nazis, the police-state psychology of the Russians?

THE SECTION
ON NUCLEAR
ENERGY
RECEIVED

APR 25 1954



FROM

DO-7

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

TO

OFFICIAL INDICATED BELOW BY CHECK MARK

Mr. Tolson ☒ *✓*
Mr. Clegg ☐
Mr. Glavin ☐
Mr. Ladd ☒ *✓*
Mr. Nichols ☒ *✓*
Mr. Rosen ☐
Mr. Tracy ☐
Mr. Gurnea ☐
Mr. Harbo ☐
Mr. Mohr ☐
Mr. Nease ☐
Miss Gandy ☐

See Me ☐
Note and Return ☐
For Your Recommendation ☐
What are the facts? ☐
Remarks: ☐

*What do our
files show on
Henry Steele
Combsager
a Professor at
Columbia Univ.*

RECORDED - 11913

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-17-92 BY SP7CJ/TLS

63 JUL 17 1949

5/10/49

RECORDED

THIS SERIAL IS TOO LARGE FOR FILE AND WILL BE CARRIED AS A NOT RECORDED SERIAL
BEHIND THE FILE

THIS SERIAL THE (Date)

ISSUE OF THE (Name of the pamphlet)

SUBJECT

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9-21-98 BY SP7CJ/LKS

FILE NUMBER

63 JUL 20 1949

100-14160-6
October 21, 1949

RECORDED - 9

EX-34

720
Mr. Henry Steele Commager
Department of History
Columbia University
New York 27, New York

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-17-98 BY SP7CT/KHS

Dear Mr. Commager:

Your letter of October 14, 1949 has been received
and you may be assured that it will receive appropriate
attention.

Very truly yours,

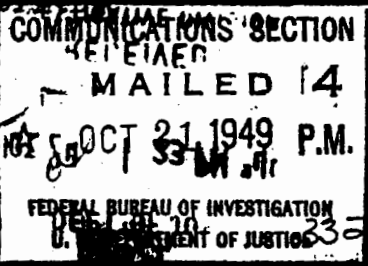
J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

CC - Albany (with a copy of incoming)

New York

Mr. Commager in the past has written magazine articles
which have been critical of the Loyalty Program and the
Bureau. In view of the attitude expressed by him in his
present communication to the Bureau, under no circumstances
should Mr. Commager or the members of his family be inter-
viewed in connection with any Bureau investigations unless
specific prior Bureau approval is obtained.



OCT 21 1 55 PM '49
RECEIVED - DIRECTOR
F B I
RECEIVED - T-000

DEC 2 1949

DEC 1 1949
F B I

Columbia University
Int. City of New York
 [NEW YORK 27, N. Y.]
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

Mr. Tolson _____
 Mr. E.A. Tamm _____
 Mr. Clegg _____
 Mr. Glavin _____
 Mr. Nichols _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Tracy _____
 Mr. Harbo _____
 Mr. Mohr _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Mr. Nease _____

Oct. 14, 1949

My dear Mr. Hoover:

Mr. De Voto's article on the F.B.I. in this month's Harper's Magazine moves me to write you about an episode not important in itself, but I think illuminating.

Last spring a girl here in my home town of Rye applied for a minor job in the State Dept. and gave my name as a reference. This summer one of your agents tracked me down at my summer place in Williamsville, Vermont. As it happened neither I nor my wife were at home. Your agent then proceeded to interrogate my 14 year old daughter. It would be interesting to know just how far your agents go in such interrogation. Do you draw the line at the age of 14, or 10, or do you question any one able to talk?

Yours truly,

Henry Steele Commager

RECORDED - 9

EX-34

100-14160-6
 17 NOV 3 1949

ack
 10/21/49
 JRM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 7-17-98 BY SP7C/...

Re: [unclear]
 6-1111

FROM

DO-7

OFFICE OF DIRECT FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

TO

OFFICIAL INDICATED BELOW BY CHECK MARK

Mr. Tolson ☒ ()
Mr. Clegg ☐ ()
Mr. Glavin ☐ ()
Mr. Ladd ☒ ()
Mr. Nichols ☒ ()
Mr. Rosen ☐ ()
Mr. Tracy ☐ ()
Mr. Gurnea ☐ ()
Mr. Harbo ☐ ()
Mr. Mohr ☐ ()
Mr. Nease ☐ ()
Miss Gandy ☐ ()

See Me ☐ ()
Note and Return ☐ ()
For Your Recommendation ☐ ()
What are the facts? ☐ ()
Remarks:

*While searching in
case in
view of true
our Agent used
bad judgment.
get the facts.*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9-17-98 BY SP7CJH/D

ENCLOSURE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

OCT 20 1949

TELETYPE

CLASSIFIED BY SP7CJ/STH
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1

9-21-98

FBU ALBANY

10-20-49

4-20PM

MFS

DIRECTOR

ATTENTION MR. JOHN MOHR

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, MISC. REBUTEL NINETEENTH INSTANT AND TELEPHONE

~~CONVERSATION~~ CONVERSATION MR. JOHN MOHR TODAY. CASE REFERRED TO IN BUTEL

IDENTIFIED AS [REDACTED]

(3) REPORT SA [REDACTED]

DATD AUG. 16, 1949

SIXTEEN FORTYNINE REFLECTS INTERVIEW HENRY S. ~~COMMAGER~~ COMMAGER AND
REPORTS INFO AS RECEIVED FROM HIM. FILE REFLECTS REPORT DICTATED ON
TELEPHONE AUG. SIXTEEN FORTYNINE BY AGT. [REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Mr. Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Ladd	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Clegg	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Glavin	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Nichols	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Rosen	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Tracy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Harbo	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Mohr	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Miss Gandy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

2 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

Section 552Section 552a☐ (b)(1)☐ (b)(7)(A)☐ (d)(5)☐ (b)(2)☐ (b)(7)(B)☐ (j)(2)☐ (b)(3)☒ (b)(7)(C)☐ (k)(1)☐ (b)(7)(D)☐ (k)(2)☐ (b)(7)(E)☐ (k)(3)☐ (b)(7)(F)☐ (k)(4)☐ (b)(4)☐ (b)(8)☐ (k)(5)☐ (b)(5)☐ (b)(9)☐ (k)(6)☐ (b)(6)☐ (k)(7)

- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to the subject of your request or the subject of your request is listed in the title only.

- ☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

Page(s) withheld inasmuch as a final release determination has not been made. You will be advised as to the disposition at a later date.

Pages were not considered for release as they are duplicative of _____

Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): _____

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

HQ 100-14160-7-pgs. 2-3

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X Deleted Page(s) X
X No Duplication Fee X
X for this page X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. LADD

FROM : Mr. ROSEN *Rosen*

SUBJECT: HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

DATE: October 20, 1949

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-21-98 BY SP7CJ/740

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Tele. Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

In referring to the contents of a letter dated October 14, 1949 from Henry Steele Commager the Director said "While sarcastic in vein, if true our Agent used bad judgment. Get the facts."

THE ALLEGATIONS IN COMMAGER'S LETTER:

Henry Steele Commager, a Professor of history at Columbia University, in his letter said that last spring he had been given as a reference by a girl who was seeking employment in a minor capacity at the State Department. He has alleged that an Agent called at his summer place at Williamsville, Vermont and that in his absence the Agent interviewed his 14 year old daughter. In commenting upon this he referred to DeVoto's article on the FBI which appeared in Harper's Magazine and he asked "Do you draw the line at the age 14 or 10 or do you question anyone able to talk?"

RESULT OF FILE SEARCH:

A search of the Bureau's files has been made but from the meager information furnished by Commager it has not been possible to identify the investigation to which his letter refers. Further efforts to identify the case are being made today by the Albany Office.

MATERIAL PERTAINING TO COMMAGER IN BUREAU FILES:

A summary memorandum was prepared at the Bureau on Henry Steele Commager on June 29, 1949. It reflected that articles by Commager critical of the Loyalty Program have been published in Harper's Magazine and the New York Times Magazine Section during 1947, 1948 and 1949. All of the articles were critical of the Bureau and were given wide publicity by the Daily Worker and other Communist Party publications.

In September 1948 Commager's name was listed as a member of a committee organized by the American Russian Institute For Cultural Relations With The Soviet Union for the purpose of obtaining a visa for the Dean of Canterbury, Hewlett Johnson.

His name also appeared on a list of invitees to a "Survival Conference" called by [redacted] in connection with the attempt to establish the National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions as a division of the Progressive Citizens of America in June 1948.

JEN:FCF

RECORDED - 9

EX-34

1100 - 14160-8
F B I
NOV 3 1949

67C

MEMO TO MR. LADD

At the end of this summary memorandum the Director commented that
"Above all shows another fellow-traveler is speaking his piece true to form."
(100-14160-3)

OBSERVATION:

In view of Commager's background it appears that the purpose of his letter was to "get a rise out of the Bureau". Based on his previous articles it is not improbable that his complaint is without foundation.

ACTION TAKEN:

In view of our inability to identify the case referred to in Commager's letter through a review of Bureau files a teletype was directed to the Albany Office on October 19, 1949 furnishing the substance of Commager's complaint and requesting that the SAC immediately make every effort to identify the case referred to by Commager. He was requested to advise the Bureau by noon today the identity of the case and of the Agent who handled the interview referred to, along with the complete details regarding this interview.

ACTION RECOMMENDED:

It is suggested that consideration not be given to acknowledging Commager's letter until the Albany Office has furnished the Bureau the facts concerning the incident referred to in the Commager letter. You will be promptly advised upon receipt of the data from Albany.

J. Edgar Hoover
H.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

CC-150

cc: Mr. Ladd
Mr. Rosen

To: COMMUNICATIONS SECTION. 10-19-49

URGENT

Transmit the following message to SAC, ALBANY

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER; MISC. BUREAU IN RECEIPT OF LETTER FROM HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, PROFESSOR, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY IN SUBSTANCE AS FOLLOWS. HIS NAME WAS GIVEN AS A REFERENCE BY A YOUNG WOMAN APPLYING FOR A POSITION WITH THE STATE DEPARTMENT. THIS WOMAN LIVED AT RYE, NY AS DOES COMMAGER. DURING SUMMER OF FORTYNINE COMMAGER RESIDED WILLIAMSVILLE, VERMONT AND AGENT ENDEAVORED TO INTERVIEW HIM THERE. WHEN NOT AT HOME AGENT INTERVIEWED HIS FOURTEEN YEAR OLD DAUGHTER. ON BASIS OF FOREGOING YOU SHOULD IMMEDIATELY MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO IDENTIFY THE CASE REFERRED TO BY COMMAGER. SUTEL BUREAU BY NOON TOMORROW IDENTITY OF CASE, IDENTITY OF AGENT WHO HANDLED THE INTERVIEW AND COMPLETE DETAILS REGARDING THE INTERVIEW.

HOOVER

JEN:FCF

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-21-98 BY SP7CT/KLD

COPIES DESTROYED 5/20/59 #16

RECORDED

100-14160-9
17 NOV 3 1949

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Tele. Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U S DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

OCT 19 1949

3 DEC 10 1949

TELETYPE

SENT VIA

Per

CC-247

Tolson

Ladd

Clegg

Glavin

Nichols

Rosen

Tracy

Harbo

Mohr

Tele. Room

Nease

Gandy

November 2, 1949

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-21-98 BY SP7CJ/LD

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that Professor Commager of Columbia University has an editorial in the November 5 issue of The Saturday Review of Literature which is not available in Washington until Friday. In it, Commager goes into the subject of freedom of speech. He does not mention the Bureau.

[REDACTED] Commager quotes from the Director's statement before the Un-American Activities Committee. [REDACTED] wondered if the quote was correct. I read him the pertinent portions and sent him a copy of the statement.

Respectfully,

L. B. Nichols

LBN:FML

ENCL

117

Commager is the fellow who recently wrote in about our interviewing his 14 yr old daughter

RECORDED - 117

INDEXED - 117

100-14160

F B
3 NOV 25 1949

63DEC5 1949

EX-3

THIS MEMORANDUM IS FOR ADMINISTRATIVE PURPOSES
TO BE DESTROYED AFTER ACTION IS TAKEN AND NOT SENT TO FILES

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: February 1, 1950

FROM : D. M. LADD *DL*SUBJECT: HENRY STEELE COMMAGER
INFORMATION CONCERNING

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9-21-92 BY SP7CE/KH

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Egan	
Mr. Gurnea	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Pennington	
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

PURPOSE:

To advise you that allegations have been made that the above individual is a member of the Communist Party.

BACKGROUND:

You will recall that Commager, who is a professor of History at Columbia University and a writer for the "Saturday Review of Literature," has been critical of the Bureau and has recently been the author of letters critical of the Loyalty Program.

DETAILS:

In connection with another investigation, an Agent of the Denver Office recently interviewed [REDACTED] who has been interested in anti-Communist activities. [REDACTED] advised that he has interviewed Commager while making inquiries concerning an individual [REDACTED] indicated that during the interview, Commager became angry and stated to [REDACTED] "Sure, I'm a Communist, what about it?" and at the same time threw a Communist Party membership card on the desk toward [REDACTED] further stated that Commager arranged for [REDACTED] to secure a photostatic copy of the card.

ACTION:

The Denver Office has been instructed to immediately reinterview [REDACTED] and obtain full details concerning his interview with Commager and obtain any information indicating Commager's Communist Party membership and if [REDACTED] actually obtained a photostat of Commager's Party membership card, to obtain copies thereof and immediately forward them to the Bureau.

GHS:GAS

RECORDED

100-14160-11
FEB 1 1950

Handwritten initials and marks:
b7c
b7c
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JTB
KHL

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(D) HENRY STEELE COMMAGER -- In the past Mr. Commager, a professor of history at Columbia University, New York City, has published articles critical of the Loyalty Program and the Bureau. Recently he has given renewed evidence of hostility toward the FBI. Under no circumstances should he or any member of his family be interviewed without specific prior Bureau approval.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover

Director

12-14-49
SAC LETTER NO. 110
Series 1949

- 3 -

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 4-26-83 BY SP8 BB/dcg

1039
ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 66-01

332

100-14160-
NOT RECORDED
87
DEC 16 1949

DEC 20 1949

Commager Hits Smear Techniques

Noted Author
Attacks Loyalty
Oaths in Lecture

WILLIAMSTOWN—Fearing the fate of a nation that is "putting its faith in gestures," Henry Steele Commager, author and historian, discussed "Free Enterprise in Ideas" at a lecture to 310 people in Jesup Hall Thursday night. The speaker criticized the recent reliance on "smear" techniques and political persecution as safeguards for loyalty. He said: "Loyalty oaths force conformity; they are dangerous, terrible, abhorrent, and they violate the tradition of freedom and the dignity of the individual."

Using the Un-American Activities Committee as an illustration, he pointed out the demoralizing effects of enforced conformity. He felt that recent attacks by the committee on the Lawyers' Guild for offering to defend the 11 Communists would in effect be establishing the principle that lawyers who defend criminals sympathize with crime. Mr. Commager also believed that the purge of the University of California closed important channels for disinterested opinion and advice in America.

"The censorship of text books," said the author, "is based on the character of the authors. If critical textbooks are banned, non-critical ones will prevail. Public opinion and income will then become the sole criteria." He felt that the educational system is not responsible for the security of the country, but, "it is the business of society to keep the schools free."

Mr. Commager spoke vindictively of the recent assaults on the Freedom Association. By condemning all those in contact with Communists or radicals the public ignores the power of its own beliefs, and obscures the character of the opposition, he said.

The speaker emphasized the distinction between ideas and overt actions as the criterion for loyalty. In conclusion, he stated that the "greatest of our resources is in the minds and the spirits of free men."

Case Title: HENRY STEELE
COMMAGER

Classification: 66-00
Newspaper, Date:

Berkshire Evening Eagle, Pittsfield,
Mass., December 8, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9-25-98 BY SP7CEJ/TKD

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: December 28, 1950

FROM : SAC, Boston

SUBJECT: HENRY STEELE COMMAGER
Information Concerning

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9-21-98 BY SP7CJ/TLD

Reference is made to Boston letter to the Director dated December 26, 1950, wherein was enclosed a clipping from the Berkshire Evening Eagle dated December 9, 1950 captioned, "Commager Hits Smear Techniques".

Through error, the last paragraph of referenced letter stated "that interviews are to be had with COMMAGER without Bureau approval." This sentence should read, "....wherein the Bureau instructs that interviews are not to be had with COMMAGER without Bureau approval."

62-00-50

RES:mk

RECORDED - JAN 18, 1951

EX-113

55 JAN 11 1951

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. D. M. LADD
FROM : A. H. Belmont
SUBJECT: HENRY STILL COMMAGER
SPECIAL INQUIRY
WHITE HOUSE
(NAME CHECK)

DATE: April 28, 1952

WPK
mtb-1
AP
V
Tolson _____
Ladd _____
Clegg _____
Glavin _____
Nichols _____
Rosen _____
Tracy _____
Harbo _____
Tele. Room _____
Nease _____
Gandy _____

Commager, Henry
[redacted] telephonically contacted [redacted] on April 28, 1952, and requested that the Bureau conduct a search of its files for derogatory information on Henry Still Commager, who is of interest to the White House.

[redacted] advised that Commager is Professor of History at Columbia University. His name appears in the current edition of "Who's Who in America."

The files of the Bureau are being checked to determine information available in our files suitable for dissemination to the White House.

ERR:lm

COMMUNICATION-DIVISION
FBI
DEPT. OF JUSTICE
MAY 1 1952

COMMUNICATION-DIVISION
FBI
DEPT. OF JUSTICE
MAY 1 1952

A

RECORDED - 41

100-14160-20
MAY 8 1952

*MEMO Belmont
to Ladd
4/30/52 JGL*

EX-99

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE *9-21-92* BY *SP7CZ/710*

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3354

69 MAY 14 1952

DECLASSIFIED BY SP7CZ/LD
ON 7-22-98

SECURITY INFORMATION - CONFIDENTIAL

April 30, 1952

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER - Summary

No investigation relative to Henry Steele Commager has been conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA:

The following information relative to Henry Steele Commager appears in the publication "Who's Who in America, 1952-1953."

"Educator; b. at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Oct. 25, 1902; s. James Williams and Elizabeth (Dan) c; Ph.B., U. of Chicago, 1923, A.M., 1924, Ph.D., 1928; student U. of Copenhagen, 1924-25; U.A. (Contab.) fellow commoner, Peterhouse, married Evan Carroll, July 3, 1928; children-- Henry Steele, Nellie Thomas McColl, Elisabeth Carroll. Instr. of history, New York U., 1926-38; prof. history, Columbia since 1939; visiting prof. summers, Duke U., 1930, Harvard, 1936. U. of Chicago, 1939, Calif., 1948. Lecturer, Am. History, Cambridge U., Eng., 1943-43. Fellow Am. Scandinavian Soc.; mem. Am. Hist. Assn., Mass. Historical Society; Am. Antiquarian Soc., Century Assn., Phi Beta Kappa. Received Herbert B. Adams award of Am. Hist. Assn., 1929; mem. War Dept. Com. on History of the War; to Britain for War Dept. and OBI, summer 1943; to France, Belgium, Britain for War Dept., 1945. Bacon lecturer, Boston U., 1943; Richards lecturer, U. of Va., 1944; Pitt prof. Am. History Cambridge U. (England), 1947-48. Democrat. Author: The Growth of the Am. Republic (with E. S. Morison), 1931-42; Our Nation's Development (with W. E. Dodd and E. C. Barker), 1934; Theodore Parker, 1936; The Heritage of America (with E. S. Morison), 1939; Our Nation (with E. C. Barker), 1941; ...

- Tolson
- Ladd
- Nichols
- Belmont
- Clegg
- Glavin
- Harbo
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Mohr
- Tele. Rm.
- Nease
- Gandy

Blank memo Orig. to White House.

(100-14160)

100-14160-2

SECURITY INFORMATION - CONFIDENTIAL

ENCLOSURE

DIRECTOR

67c

America: the Story of a Free People (with A. Nevins), 1942; Majority Rule and Minority Rights, 1943; The Blue and the Gray (2 vol.); The Second St. Nicholas Anthology, 1950; America, Story of Free Nation, 1950. Editor: Documents of American History, 1934, 40, 50; Tocqueville's Democracy in America, 1946; A St. Nicholas Anthology, 1948; America in Perspective, 1947; The Rise of the American Nation, 40 vols. (in process). Editor: Selected Writings of William Dean Howells. Contbr. The Nation, The Atlantic Monthly, Harper's, The Spectator, etc. Contbg. editor Scholastic Magazine. Home: 30 Grace Church St., N.Y.

BOOKS AND ARTICLES WRITTEN BY HENRY STEELE COMMAGER:

In the "Daily Worker," east coast Communist newspaper, for July 15, 1946, there was an article attacking former Ambassador to Russia, William C. Bullitt, for urging the United States to drop atomic bombs on the Soviet Union. Commager is quoted in the "Daily Worker" as making the following statement concerning Bullitt's article, "so gross are the distortions, so fallacious the arguments, so blatant the omissions, so immoral the proposals of this book that it can only serve to promote misunderstandings." (62-59489; 100-14160-3) ✓

In the September, 1947, issue of "Harper's Magazine" Commager wrote an article entitled "Who is Loyal to America?". This article criticized the official objections raised to a lecture given by a Mrs. Shura Lewis at Western High School, Washington, D. C., on May 6, 1947. In her lecture, Mrs. Lewis discussed Russia and its school system and public health program. She also compared Russian social institutions to those in America. In his article, Commager defended Mrs. Lewis against all criticism and criticized certain members of Congress, the District of Columbia educational system and others who spoke out against Mrs. Lewis. He discussed at length the "new loyalty," which he characterized as "conformative" and objected to the imposition of fixed concepts of loyalty and tests of disloyalty. (61-7559-2-6264; 100-14160-3) ✓

The above-mentioned article was widely distributed by the Communist Party and Communist front organizations. (100-333625; 100-14160-3) ✓

A confidential informant has furnished an outline dated September 8, 1947, issued by the New York State Communist Party, suggesting certain special approaches to different groups. One of these listed under "The Dennis Case and Liberals, Intellectuals, Middle Class, and the Thomas Witch-hunt" noted that "There is also a very good article in the September issue of 'Harper's Magazine,' by Henry Steele Commager, a leading American historian. Commager attacks the witch-hunt very sharply. Reprints will be available." (100-3-4-6314)

On November 28, 1947, [REDACTED] b7c

[REDACTED] received a communication from [REDACTED] of New York City. This communication was addressed to the "Organization Secretaries." Among other things discussed in the communication, Commager's article in "Harper's Magazine" was briefly outlined regarding his criticism of the Loyalty Program. (100-3-72-246; 100-14160-3)

In a form letter sent out by the Civil Rights Congress on November 26, 1947, attention was called to Commager's article in "Harper's Magazine." It was stated that this article contained a careful analysis of current problems facing thinking Americans. (61-10149-612; 100-14160-3)

The Civil Rights Congress has been cited by the Attorney General of the United States as Communist.

An article by Commager entitled "Should we Outlaw the Communist Party" appeared in the "New York Times Magazine Section" for August 22, 1948. In this article, Commager pointed out that the Communist Party should not be outlawed as that would violate a basic fundamental right guaranteed by the Constitution. (100-3-74-A; 100-14160-3) ✓

In the "Daily Worker," east coast Communist newspaper, for August 27, 1948, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, national functionary of the Communist Party, mentioned the "New York Times" article by Commager, and although critical of certain statements Commager made, which she pointed out were probably made lest someone might believe he was a Communist, agreed with most of Commager's article. (100-3-74-A; 100-14160-3) ✓

SECURITY INFORMATION - CONFIDENTIAL

In the "New York Times Magazine Section" for June 26, 1949, another article by Commager appeared entitled "The Real Danger--Fear of Ideas." In this article Commager indicated that the fear of ideas was being fostered by the "drive on disloyalty." He ridiculed the expenditures of large sums under the Loyalty Program, and stated that the FBI had as yet adduced no evidence that traitors and spies and subversives had been able to work substantial harm to the nation. He pointed out that there were no definitions of disloyalty. He then stated "thus J. Edgar Hoover relies upon 'easy tests' to determine a Communist-front organization: 'Does the organization receive consistent favorable comments in Communist publications?' Clearly, all that is needed here is for the "Daily Worker" to give consistent favorable mention to the Daughters of the American Revolution and the American Legion for these organizations to come under the ban." He ended this article by pointing out that the "dangers confronting us (from such things as the Loyalty Program) then is graver by far than any danger that arises from the activities from the Communists or subversives in America." (100-14160-3) ✓

In the November 30, 1950 issue of the "Daily Worker," east coast Communist newspaper, an article appeared on page 5 entitled "Leading Historian Warns: 'We Are Moving Away From Americanism.'" In this article the "Daily Worker" commented favorably upon an article which had appeared the previous Sunday in the "New York Times Magazine" authored by Henry Steele Commager, Columbia University Historian. According to the "Daily Worker," Commager, in his article had been extremely critical of the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations and the McCarran Act. (100-14160-A) ✓

MISCELLANEOUS:

Henry Steele Commager's name appeared on a list of invitees to a Survival Conference called by [REDACTED] in connection with an attempt to establish the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions as a division of the Progressive Citizens of America. This conference was to be held in June, 1948. b7c

(100-333892; 100-14160-3)

SECURITY INFORMATION - CONFIDENTIAL

The National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions has been cited as a Communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

On September 20, 1948, [REDACTED] 67C

[REDACTED] advised that a new committee had been organized for the purpose of obtaining a visa to permit the Dean of Canterbury, Hewlett Johnson, to enter the United States on a speaking tour. The name Henry Steele Commager was listed on that committee.

(100-13551-22; 100-14160-3)

[REDACTED] The American-Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union has been cited as Communist by the Attorney General of the United States.

In February 1950 [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] whose reliability is unknown, stated that while he was conducting an investigation in another matter he interviewed Henry Steele Commager at Columbia University. During the interview which lasted from twenty to thirty minutes, Commager became angry, stated that he was a Communist and exhibited to [REDACTED] his Communist Party membership card which was not in Commager's name. Thereafter, at [REDACTED] request, Commager allowed a photostat of the card to be made.

[REDACTED] stated that he retained the photostat until he prepared his report in connection with the subject of his investigation. [REDACTED] did not mention the Commager incident or the card in that report. He stated that the card was attached to the report, then reversed himself and said that it was not attached.

[REDACTED] (100-14160-15)

SECURITY INFORMATION - ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In the August 4, 1950 issue of the publication "Counterattack," it was stated that Carl Marzani had been sentenced to one to three years in prison for making false statements about his membership in the Communist Party while an employee of the United States State Department. The article went on to say that one thousand Americans had signed a petition to President Truman asking the President to pardon Marzani, and that one of the signers of the petition was Henry Steele Commager of Columbia University. (100-350512-341)

This is the result of an FBI file check only, and should not be construed as a clearance or nonclearance of the individual involved. It is furnished for your confidential use and should not be disseminated.

Tolson _____
Ladd _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Clegg _____
Glavin _____
Harbo _____
Rosen _____
Tracy _____
Mohr _____
Tele. Rm. _____
Nease _____
Gandy _____

SECURITY INFORMATION - ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☐ Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

Section 552Section 552a☐ (b)(1)☐ (b)(7)(A)☐ (d)(5)☐ (b)(2)☐ (b)(7)(B)☐ (j)(2)☐ (b)(3)☐ (b)(7)(C)☐ (k)(1)☐ (b)(7)(D)☐ (k)(2)☐ (b)(7)(E)☐ (k)(3)☐ (b)(7)(F)☐ (k)(4)☐ (b)(4)☐ (b)(8)☐ (k)(5)☐ (b)(5)☐ (b)(9)☐ (k)(6)☐ (b)(6)☐ (k)(7)

- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to the subject of your request or the subject of your request is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

_____ Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

_____ Page(s) withheld inasmuch as a final release determination has not been made. You will be advised as to the disposition at a later date.

☒ Pages were not considered for release as they are duplicative of HQ 100-14160-1

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): _____

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

HQ 100-14160-NR - Letter to Director, FBI from SAC, New York, 3/8/41

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X Deleted Page(s) X
X No Duplication Fee X
X for this page X
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XXXXXX
XXXXXX

Mr. D. M. Ladd

April 30, 1952

A. H. Belmont

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER
SPECIAL INQUIRY, WHITE HOUSE
(Name Check)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-22-98 BY SP7CJ/ALD

PURPOSE:

To furnish information in Bureau files concerning
Henry Steele Commager, pursuant to a request from [REDACTED] b7c

BACKGROUND:

By memorandum dated April 28, 1952, I advised you
that [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] had, on April 28, telephonically requested that the
Bureau conduct a search of its files for derogatory information
on Henry Steele Commager, who is of interest to the White House.
[REDACTED] stated that Commager is Professor of History at
Columbia University.

Attached is a memorandum for [REDACTED] containing
information in Bureau files concerning Commager which is felt
suitable for dissemination.

Certain information in Bureau files relative to Commager
which is not felt suitable for dissemination is set forth below
in this memorandum under the heading "Information In Bureau
Files."

INFORMATION IN BUREAU FILES:

No investigation has been conducted by the Bureau
relative to Henry Steele Commager.

In SAC Letter No. 110, Series 1949, dated December 14,
1949, it was stated "in the past Mr. Commager, a Professor of
History at Columbia University, New York City, has published
articles criticizing the Loyalty Program and the Bureau. Recently
he has given renewed evidence of hostility toward the FBI. Under
no circumstances should he or any member of his family without
specific prior Bureau approval." (66-04-1039) /be interviewed

Tolson _____
Ladd _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Clegg _____
Glavin _____
Harbo _____
Rosen _____
Tracy _____
Mohr _____
Tele. Rm. _____
Nease _____
Gandy _____

100-14160

JGL:mkf
7/10/52

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached memorandum be forwarded to [REDACTED] through
[REDACTED] liaison channels.

b7c

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT *the*DATE: February 18, 1955 *W*FROM : MR. W. C. SULLIVAN *red*SUBJECT: *0-* [REDACTED] *b7C*ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-22-98 BY SP7CZ/KLS *2-1*

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Nichols	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Sizoo	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

This is to advise you that [REDACTED] contacted me telephonically yesterday from [REDACTED] *b7C*

He opened the conversation by saying that the professors and students of West Point who are using the F.B.I.'s literature on Communism sent to that institution are all quite enthusiastic over it and find it very helpful. He wanted to again extend his appreciation to Mr. Hoover for furnishing him with this material.

[REDACTED] next advised me that he has to come to Washington on February 24 [REDACTED]

While in the city he said he would like to talk with me about a matter which may be of interest to the F.B.I. He indicated that it related to the well-known historian, Professor Henry Steele Commager, who at the present time is a member of the faculty at Columbia University.

I told [REDACTED] that I would, of course, be willing to see him and to listen to what he had to say in connection with Professor Commager.

RECOMMENDATION:

None; this is for your information. *John* *AKW* *W*

WCS:djeA/c
(4)

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - section tickler of the national security program.

ADDENDUM: (WCS:mjh 2/21/55) Professor Henry Steele Commager is a liberal and an influential historian of national reputation on the faculty of Columbia University, New York. He has been critical to the Director protesting the fact that a Bureau Agent interviewed in his absence his fourteen-year-old daughter about an applicant in the office of Commager himself who had been listed as a reference. In SAC Letter #110 dated 12/14/49, the Field was instructed not to interview Professor Commager without specific Bureau approval. Commager has not been investigated by the Bureau. (100-14160)

RECORDED-12

MAR 2 1955

WCS
2-1

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: February 28, 1955

FROM : W. C. Sullivan

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2-22-98 BY SP7CJ/760

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]

Tolson _____
 Boardman _____
 Nichols _____
 Belmont _____
 Harbo _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

MISCELLANEOUS

SYNOPSIS:

[REDACTED] telephoned me [REDACTED] on February 17, 1955. He asked if I would be in the city on February 24th for he planned to be here on other business and wanted to talk to me about Professor Henry Steele Commager of Columbia University. I told him I would be here. On arriving, [REDACTED] said that the purpose of his visit was to advise that he had a copy of a Blank FBI Memorandum on Professor Commager and wanted to know if we had any additional information on this subject. [REDACTED] said he was most anxious to know (1) whether or not Commager was a Communist or subversive for he wanted to use at West Point a book co-authored by Commager (Europe and America Since 1942) and (2) whether or not FBI action may have resulted in G-2 more or less blacklisting Professor Commager, thereby making it difficult for West Point to get "clearance" to use Commager's book. [REDACTED] was very clearly told (1) that he had in the Memorandum which he possessed all the information we had on Professor Commager; further, we have never investigated the man and have no more interest in him per se than we have in any other professor, which is none at all; (2) that if G-2 or related agencies have any fixed attitude and policy on Professor Commager and his books, it is their own and not ours and we are in no way responsible for it; that the FBI does not influence or make decisions for outside agencies of the Government nor does it issue or refuse clearances; and (3) the FBI never has and never will comment upon what type of textbook should or should not be used in any college or university or by any individual. [REDACTED] seemed to be quite satisfied with this explanation. We discussed a number of other topics but this was the main issue and the reason for his visit.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. This is for your information.

RECORDED - 98

INDEXED - 98

EX-107

13 MAR 9 1955

WCS:mjh
(4)

1 - Mr. Belmont

1 - W. C. Sullivan

Section Tickler

60 MAR 15 1955

DETAILS:

b7c

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] telephoned me [REDACTED] on February 17, 1955, to advise that he would be in Washington, D. C., on business [REDACTED] on February 24th and would like to call at the FBI to talk to me about Professor Henry Steele Commager of Columbia University. I told him to stop by for whatever discussion he had in mind.

As you know, Professor Commager is a historian of national and international reputation. WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA for 1952-1953 contains the following information on Professor Commager:

"Educator; b. at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Oct. 25, 1902; s. James Williams and Elizabeth (Dan) c; Ph.B., U. of Chicago, 1923, A.M., 1924, Ph.D., 1928; student U. of Copenhagen, 1924-25; M.A. (Contab.) fellow commoner, Peterhouse, married Evan Carroll, July 3, 1928; children--Henry Steele, Nellie Thomas McColl, Elisabeth Carroll. Instr. of history, New York U., 1926-38; prof. history, Columbia since 1939; visiting prof. summers, Duke U., 1930, Harvard, 1936. U. of Chicago, 1939, Calif., 1948. Lecturer, Am. History, Cambridge U., Eng., 1942-43. Fellow Am. Scandinavian Soc.; mem. Am. Hist. Assn., Mass. Historical Society; Am. Antiquarian Soc., Century Assn., Phi Beta Kappa. Received Herbert B. Adams award of Am. Hist. Assn., 1929; mem. War Dept. Com. on History of the War; to Britain for War Dept. and OWI, summer 1943; to France, Belgium, Britain for War Dept., 1945. Bacon lecturer, Boston U., 1943; Richards lecturer, U. of Va., 1944; Pitt prof. Am. History Cambridge U. (England), 1947-48. Democrat. Author: The Growth of the Am. Republic (with S. E. Morison), 1931-42; Our Nation's Development (with W. E. Dodd and E. C. Barker), 1934; Theodore Parker; 1936; The Heritage of America (with A. Nevins), 1939; Our Nation (with E. C. Barker), 1941; America: the Story of a Free People (with A. Nevins), 1942; Majority Rule and Minority Rights, 1943; The Blue and the Gray (2 vol.); The Second St. Nicholas Anthology, 1950; America, Story of Free Nation, 1950. Editor: Documents of American History, 1934, 40, 50; Tocqueville's Democracy in America, 1946; A St. Nicholas Anthology, 1948; America in Perspective, 1947; The Rise of the American Nation, 40 vols. (in process). Editor: Selected Writings of William Dean Howells. Contr. The Nation, The Atlantic Monthly, Harper's, The Spectator, etc. Contbg. editor Scholastic Magazine. Home: 30 Grace Church St., Rye, N.Y."

We do have a main file on Professor Commager but the Bureau has never investigated this man. (100-14160) Professor Commager wrote to the Director on October 14, 1949, and objected to his fourteen-year-old daughter being interviewed in an applicant case instead himself. He had been listed as the reference by the applicant.

In SAC Letter of December 14, 1949, Series 1949, No. 110, the field was requested to under no circumstances interview Professor Commager without specific Bureau approval. On April 28, 1952, [redacted] requested a file review on Professor Commager, who was of interest to the White House. The Memorandum forwarding the requested information was

dated April 30, 1952. This Memorandum did not reflect that Professor Commager was a Communist but it did indicate that he was critical of the Loyalty Program and national security measures generally. It further indicated that he was a too vocal, bombastic and misinformed liberal or "fellow traveller" as the Director has noted. (100-14160-3)

On February 24th, [REDACTED] called me [REDACTED] b7C and said he was ready to stop by at the FBI for a discussion of the previously mentioned subject. He said he had with him a ranking intelligence officer who would like to sit in on the discussion. I told [REDACTED] that we had a regular liaison service with G-2 Headquarters at the Pentagon and it would be much better if this intelligence officer took up whatever he had in mind with our liaison agent. [REDACTED] was "taken back" by this reply momentarily but agreed to my stipulation and said he would be over alone. I explained that in his case it was different for he was from out of the city and was visiting but for a day here.

[REDACTED] called at the Bureau at approximately 11:30 a.m. February 24, 1955, and forthwith made the following main points relative to Professor Commager: (1) he wishes to use at West Point the book Europe and America Since 1942 written by Professor Commager and a co-author whose name he could not recall but phonetically it sounded like "Brunn" or "Brunning"; (2) on discussing the authors with G-2, he encountered a snag getting clearance because of an FBI Memorandum on Professor Commager, a copy of which was furnished to him [REDACTED]; (3) the content of the book is perfectly sound and it is only the FBI Memorandum with derogatory data about one of the authors, namely Professor Commager, which causes the block; (4) the FBI Memorandum does not show that Professor Commager is a Communist but rather a liberal who has shown poor judgment and a lack of discretion in his personal and organizational associations; (5) while one must disagree with some of Professor Commager's utterances about the Loyalty Program and national security policies, one must admit he has the right to entertain and express them; and (6) it would be regrettable to have the book in question banned on these grounds.

[REDACTED] wanted to know if the FBI had any additional evidence which would prove that Professor Commager was either a Communist or a subversive individual, for if he is, said [REDACTED] neither he nor West Point would want to use the book

even though Commager is but one of the two authors. [REDACTED] b7
said he did not want to have anything to do with a subversive person
himself and he certainly did not want to bring discredit to West Point
by having anything to do with such a person.

The Blank Memorandum to which [REDACTED] refers and of
which he had a copy is the one previously described. As stated, it
was dated originally April 30, 1952, and was sent to the White House.
Subsequently, copies were given to G-2, State Department and Central
Intelligence Agency. It consists only of the results of a file
review for no investigation has been conducted. The Bureau has
done nothing since relative to Professor Commager and only three
newspaper items and one book review have been added to Commager's
file since 1952.

In view of [REDACTED] uncertain understanding of the
matter, it seemed quite necessary to clear up at once any doubts in
his mind as to the role of the FBI in this matter. I told [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] very bluntly and directly the following: (1) the FBI has
never conducted any investigation of Professor Commager; (2) even
if we had, we would let the facts speak for themselves and most
certainly would not draw conclusions, evaluate, recommend to other
agencies or make any attempt to formulate decisions for others;
(3) it is perfectly true that the FBI Blank Memorandum does not say
that Professor Commager is a Communist; (4) the FBI possesses no
additional information on Professor Commager than set forth in the
Memorandum referred to; (5) the information set forth therein and
garnered as the result of a file check only must be evaluated by the
receiving agency if any evaluation is to be made; (6) no agency has
any right to say or to infer to intimate in any way that the FBI
regards Professor Commager as a Communist, pro-Communist or a
security risk or anything else, or that his books should or should
not be used by this college or that university or by a Government
agency for that matter. (I pointed to one of my bookcases which
contains three of Commager's basic works in history - The American
Mind, The Heritage of America, Living Ideas in America - and observed
that surely no restriction was placed on these books here); (7) the
FBI never grants or refuses clearances for the simple reason it has
nothing whatsoever to do with such matters; (8) that we have no more
interest in professors as such than we do in men who swing picks and
shovels for a living; (9) we are concerned only with persons who
violate Federal laws over which the FBI has jurisdiction and with
no one else; (10) that the FBI Memorandum in question must not be
employed as a block to the use of Professor Commager's book under
the erroneous assumption that the FBI says so but only on whatever

evaluation a receiving agency itself wishes to place on Professor Commager and his works; and (11) that if G-2 or any other Government agency is unclear on this issue, they should feel free to at once take up the matter with the Bureau.

to be thoroughly satisfied with this explanation. He said in effect (1) that in view of the soundness of the book which Commager co-authored; (2) because in his opinion no other book covers so well the same field; and (3) because of the fact that Commager is not known to be a Communist, he believes he will proceed to get the book approved for use at West Point. However, he definitely did not want to do this if Commager was known for certain to be a Communist or ^a poor security risk as a subversive individual. Even now, said [redacted] there is some doubt in his mind about the advisability of going ahead with this book for fear some newspaper reporter might learn of it and write a critical article in the paper which would bring discredit to West Point. He said that [redacted] at West Point, was inclined to be opposed to the use of this book for fear of adverse publicity for the Academy. [redacted]

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

5 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

Section 552Section 552a☐ (b)(1)☐ (b)(7)(A)☐ (d)(5)☐ (b)(2)☐ (b)(7)(B)☐ (j)(2)☐ (b)(3)☒ (b)(7)(C)☐ (k)(1)☐ (b)(7)(D)☐ (k)(2)☐ (b)(7)(E)☐ (k)(3)☐ (b)(7)(F)☐ (k)(4)☐ (b)(4)☐ (b)(8)☐ (k)(5)☐ (b)(5)☐ (b)(9)☐ (k)(6)☐ (b)(6)☐ (k)(7)

- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to the subject of your request or the subject of your request is listed in the title only.

- ☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

_____ Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies). You will be advised by the FBI as to the releasability of this information following our consultation with the other agency(ies).

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_____ Pages were not considered for release as they are duplicative of _____

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): _____

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

HQ 100-14160-NR-memo dated 2/28/55 to A.H. Belmont - pgs. 7-11

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT *W*

DATE: January 29, 1957

FROM : W. C. Sullivan

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-22-92 BY SP7CZ/HKDSUBJECT: DR. HENRY STEELE COMMAGER
Professor of History, Amherst College

Tolson	_____
Nichols	_____
Boardman	_____
Belmont	_____
Mason	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Nease	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

The Daily Worker dated January 28, 1957, has printed with obvious pleasure in support of its position statements attributed to Dr. Henry Steele Commager, professor of history at Amherst College:

"DR. HENRY Steele Commager, professor of history at Amherst rapped the use of 'loyalty' lists in casting actors for radio, TV and the movies in a speech before eight Jewish women's organizations in Albany, N. Y. a week or two ago.

"He berated Hollywood for requiring actors, writers and others to affirm that they have not belonged to '500 or 600 lists of the Attorney General, the House Un-American Activities Committee and others, and for blacklisting artists who were not 'cooperative witnesses' before congressional investigating groups.

"He said the film industry had no right to take such a position, no more than Washington had a right 'to look into the minds' of writers of books--before purchasing the latter for use.

"He deplored the 'cowardice' of the Madison Avenue hucksters who swear by Red Channels.

"The whole 'rigmarole' of 'lists' of 'subversives' was nonsensical, unAmerican and of dubious legal validity, he said."

Daily Worker, January 28, 1957, p. 6

RECOMMENDATION:

RECORDED - 24

That this memorandum be referred to the Director for his information and possible use.

MMC:mjh
(4)

- 1 - Section tickler
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Nichols

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1949

TO:

☒ Director 5633 ☒ Mr. Mohr 5744
☒ Mr. Tolson 5744 ☒ Mr. Nease 5633
☒ Mr. Ladd 5736 ☒ Mr. Q. Tamm 4131 IB
☒ Mr. Clegg 5256 ☒ Mr. Waikart 7204
☒ Mr. Fletcher 1742 ☒ Miss Gandy 5633
☒ Mr. Glavin 5517 ☒ Mr. English 5627
☒ Mr. Harbo 7625 ☒ Records Section 7235
☒ Mr. Rosen 5706 ☒ Pers. Records 6635
☒ Mr. Tracy 4130 IB ☒ Reading Room 5531
☒ Mr. Cartwright ☒ Mail Room 5533
☒ Mr. Jones 4236 ☒ Teletype 5644
☒ Mr. Leonard 6222 IB
☒ Mr. McCoy 5537 ☒ Mrs. [REDACTED]
☒ Mr. McGuire ☒ Miss [REDACTED]
☒ Miss [REDACTED]

b7c

☐ See Me ☐ For Appropriate Action
☐ Send File ☐ Prepare Reply

This boils down to
 A plea for "license"

This boils down to a plea for
 "license."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

9-21-98 SP704/720

L. B. Nichols
 Room 5640, Ext 691

SAC, Denver

February 1, 1950

Director, FBI

PERSONAL ATTENTION

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER
INFORMATION CONCERNING

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-21-98 BY SP7CZ/LGA

61-7558-478

Reurlet dated January 6, 1950, captioned "Alleged
Communist Activities at Colorado College, Colorado Springs,
Colorado, Security Matter - C."

Page 3 of this letter in reporting on the interview
with [REDACTED] states that [REDACTED] advised the
interviewing Agent that Commager had admitted his membership in
the Communist Party and had arranged for [REDACTED] to secure a
photostatic copy of that membership card.

You are instructed to immediately have [REDACTED]
interviewed by an experienced Agent and fully develop any and all
information in his possession reflecting Communist activity or
Communist Party membership on the part of Commager. If [REDACTED]
has available a photostatic copy of Commager's Party membership
card, every effort should be made to obtain a copy thereof.

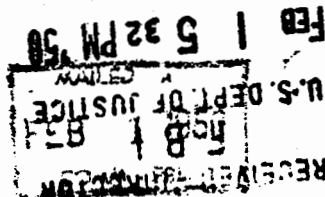
Reference is made to SAC Letter #110 dated December 14,
1949, which points out that Commager has been critical of this
Bureau and the Loyalty Program. Due to Commager's position, any
inquiries concerning him must of necessity be conducted in a very
cautious manner and in such a way that no possible embarrassment
to the Bureau will result.

[REDACTED] should be interviewed immediately and the
results of the interview furnished to the Bureau by letter as
expeditiously as possible.

In connection with future investigations concerning
individuals associated with colleges and universities, your
attention is called to Bureau instructions regarding the necessity
of Bureau permission prior to conducting such investigation.

Tolson _____
Ladd _____
Clegg _____
Glavin _____
Nichols _____
Rosen _____
Tracy _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Tele. Room _____
Nease _____
Gandy _____

GHS:GAS



RECEIVED
FEB 1 5 30 PM '50

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

RECEIVED

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

CC-150

To: COMMUNICATIONS SECTION.

2-14-50

Transmit the following message to:

SAC DENVER

h
0
HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, INFORMATION CONCERNING. REBULET FEBRUARY
FIRST. SUTEL DATE REPLY WILL BE RECEIVED.

HOOVER

GHS:CMC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9-21-98 BY SP7C/TLL

COPIES DESTROYED 5/20/59 #16

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Carson _____
Mr. Egan _____
Mr. Gurnea _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Pennington _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Gandy _____

RECORDED - 27

14 1350

60 FEB 21 1950 TELETYPE
SENT VIA _____

66-X366-XE

Per A

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2-26-99 BY SP7CT/HKO

FEB 14 1950

TELETYPE

FBI, DENVER

2-14-50

3-55 PM MST

DIRECTOR, FBI

ROUTINE

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, INFORMATION CONCERNING. REURTEL TODAY.

INVESTIGATION COMPLETED, REPORT WILL REACH BUREAU BY SEVENTEENTH

KRAMER

END

5-55 PM OK FBI WA SS

RECORDED - 71

FEB 16 1950

37

EX-3

RECEIVED - EXECUTIVE

108
52 FEB 23 1950

Mr. Tolson.....
Mr. Ladd.....
Mr. Clegg.....
Mr. Glavin.....
Mr. Nichols.....
Mr. Rosen.....
Mr. Tracy.....
Mr. Harbo.....
Mr. Mohr.....
Tele. Room.....
Mr. Nease.....
Miss Gandy.....

67c

100-14160-14

5-120K

SAC, New York

March 23, 1950

Director, FBI

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(Bureau file 100-14160)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-21-98 BY SP7C/T/H/60

RECORDED - 124 100-14160-15

Re SAC Letter No. 110, Section D, dated December 14, 1949, regarding the above individual.

Enclosed herewith for your information are two photostatic copies of a letter from the Denver Office dated January 6, 1950, captioned "Alleged Communist Activities at Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Colorado, Security Matter - C" and two photostatic copies of a letter from the Denver Office dated February 16, 1950, captioned as this letter.

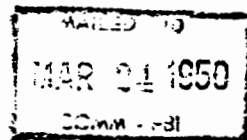
Denver letter of February 16, 1950, was in reply to Bureau letter of February 1, 1950, instructing a reinterview with [REDACTED] to ascertain details of his statements concerning Commager. b7c

No further steps are being taken to obtain a copy of the alleged Communist Party membership card of Commager in view of the vagueness of allegations and his uncertainty during the interview.

This material is being furnished to you for your information. Any information coming to your attention concerning possible Communist activities or sympathies on the part of Commager should immediately be furnished to the Bureau.

Enclosure

GHS:mac



Tolson _____
Ladd _____
Clegg _____
Glavin _____
Nichols _____
Rosen _____
Tracy _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Tele. Room _____
Nease _____
Gandy _____

RECEIVED READING ROOM
FBI
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE
MAR 24 11 02 AM '50

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
518 Railway Exchange Building
Denver 2, Colorado
February 16, 1950

AIR MAIL - SPECIAL DELIVERY

Director, FBI

RE: HENRY STEELE COMMAGER
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Dear Sir:

Rebulet 2/1/50 captioned ^{as} above.

[REDACTED] b7C
Colorado Springs, Colorado, was interviewed on February 11, 1950,
per Bureau instructions.

[REDACTED] advised that he was assigned an investigation
of the background, character and loyalty of one [REDACTED] C.I.R.-2

[REDACTED] said he obtained a copy of the book
and upon examination determined that it contained much material which
in his opinion was radical and pro-Communist. He also stated that
COPIES DESTROYED 5/20/59 #16

HCC:em
100-5172



RECORDED - 124

INDEXED - 1

100-14160-16
FEB 17 1950
123-22

Director, FBI
RE: HENRY STEELE COMMAGER
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Feb. 16, 1950

he had been told by an unidentified individual, [REDACTED] that the book had been disapproved and that portions of same were deleted as unfit for reading by members of the Armed Forces. He was unable to relate any specific passages or statements in the book which were objectionable, other than that he stated the book was very pro-Roosevelt and very pro-New Deal. In an effort to obtain first-hand information relative to [REDACTED] stated that he decided to contact Dr. COMMAGER directly. b7C

[REDACTED] stated that he went to the office of Dr. HENRY COMMAGER at Columbia University; that the interview was conducted with only COMMAGER and himself present; that he spent about twenty or possibly thirty minutes with COMMAGER discussing [REDACTED] that, finally, [REDACTED] inquired as to whether [REDACTED] might be a member of or interested in the Communist Party. At this point, [REDACTED] said, COMMAGER became very angry and stated substantially: b7C

"No, we've never been able to sign him up".

[REDACTED] stated that he replied, "What do you mean sign him up? Are you a member?"

He said COMMAGER answered, "Sure I'm a Communist! So what? Half the people in New York are Communists".

With this, COMMAGER, according to [REDACTED] took his billfold from his pocket, withdrew a card from the billfold and threw it across the desk toward [REDACTED]. The latter picked up the card and looked at it. He said that the card was a membership card in the Communist Party. He said he cannot remember what was on the card; that he believes it bore some name other than COMMAGER's true name; that he believes there may have been a number but that he is not certain of this. He thought the card was approximately the size of a driver's license or the average billfold identification card. [REDACTED] said that he then told COMMAGER that he would like to photostat the card and that COMMAGER replied, "O. K. I can help you". With that, COMMAGER picked up a telephone and apparently called a photographic or photostatic laboratory. Shortly a young man came into the office and COMMAGER instructed him to take the card and make a photostat of same which he was to give to [REDACTED]

Feb. 16, 1950

67C

[REDACTED] he stated that both of these persons went over his report and instructed that the COMMAGER card should not be mentioned in the report on the grounds that the information related primarily to COMMAGER and not to [REDACTED]

██████████ suggested that possibly the photostat was preserved as an exhibit in the ██████████ files under some other caption than that of ██████████

He expressed doubt several times that the photostatic copy of the card can now be found.

Director, FBI
RE: HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

Feb. 16, 1950

[REDACTED] 67C
[REDACTED] The interview was entirely pleasant, but [REDACTED] did leave the distinct impression that he was "hedging" and groping for answers, and in view of his story relative to the alleged disposition of the photostatic card, the possibility should be borne in mind that his entire story relative to the card may be a fabrication. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

He was requested to keep the information relative to Dr. COMMAGER and the interview with agent entirely confidential and he stated he would do so.

No further action is being taken in the absence of Bureau instructions.

Very truly yours,

R. P. Kramer
R. P. KRAMER
SAC.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : THE DIRECTOR

DATE: March 9, 1950

FROM : D. M. LADD

SUBJECT: HENRY STEELE COMMAGER
Information Concerning

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9-21-98 BY SPRETH/LS

Tolson ☒
Ladd ☒
Clegg ☐
Glavin ☒
Nichols ☒
Rosen ☐
Tracy ☐
Harbo ☐
Mohr ☐
Tele. Room ☐
Nease ☐
Gandy ☐

PURPOSE

To advise you of the results of a reinterview with [REDACTED] who previously stated he had a photostatic copy of Commager's Communist Party membership card.

BACKGROUND

In my memorandum to you of February 1, 1950, I advised that [REDACTED] when interviewed by an agent of the Denver Office had alleged that during an interview Commager admitted Communist Party membership and that [REDACTED] had obtained a photostatic copy of Commager's membership card.

DETAILS

[REDACTED] upon reinterview on February 11, 1950, stated as follows: While employed as a [REDACTED] investigator, he interviewed Commager concerning [REDACTED], another professor at Columbia. During the interview which lasted twenty to thirty minutes, Commager became angry, stated he was a Communist, and exhibited to [REDACTED] his Communist Party membership card which was not in Commager's name. Thereafter, at [REDACTED] request, Commager allowed a photostat of the card to be made.

[REDACTED] stated he retained the photostat until the writing of his report on [REDACTED] but did not in the report mention the Commager incident or the card. He stated the card was attached to the report, then reversed himself, stating it was not so attached. He then stated he believed the card may be retained in the [REDACTED] files under some caption other than [REDACTED] and expressed doubt that the card could be found. [REDACTED] stated that his immediate supervisor, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] had instructed him not to include the Commager information in the [REDACTED] report and he did not do so.

GHS:mm

RECORDED - 124

MAR 23 1950

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ACTION RECOMMENDED:

It is recommended that no further steps be taken in this matter, other than to advise the New York Office of the information received, for the following reasons:

1) [REDACTED]

2) [REDACTED]

3) No information is available concerning the name appearing on the alleged Communist Party membership card of Commager.

4) [REDACTED] could furnish no information as to the disposition of the card.

5) [REDACTED]

b7c

Conan.

JK

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: December 9, 1950

FROM : SAC, Albany

SUBJECT: HENRY STEELE-COMMAGER
INFORMATION CONCERNING

in the interest of
[Signature]

As of possible interest to the Bureau, there is enclosed a news item from the Daily Worker for November 29, 1950, printed on page 5, column 1.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-21-98 BY SP7CT/KLD

ALG:VA
62-0

Attachment - 1

RECORDED - 20100-14160-17
DEC 13 1950
EX-13
17

53 DEC 26 1950

Leading Historian Warns:

"We Are Moving Away From Americanism"

In the nation's embarking on "imperialistic adventures" and its attack on freedom of expression and association we are moving from "Americanism and toward unAmericanism," Henry Steele Commager, prominent Columbia University historian, declared Sunday in an article in the New York Times Magazine.

The article was sharply critical of the departure from American tradition in many spheres of life, including devotion to peace; hostility toward imperialism and toward the power of military men in the nation's political life; against interference in the internal lives of other peoples; basic rights of association, expression and freedom of ideas.

He charged those with supporting these departures, in the name of insistence upon the "American way of life," with destroying that way of life.

"Not only the McCarran Act, but a hundred state and local laws and ordinances testify to our readiness to penalize dissent and nonconformity," he wrote, erroneously attributing to the people the actions of the pro-fascist minority. "Particularly ominous here is the attack on the basic right of association, that right most effective in and necessary to the successful functioning of democracy. Never before, except in the ante-bellum South, has freedom of expression been so sharply curtailed as it is today."

He said that foreigners, "looking at the tragic spectacle of a great, powerful and free people frightening itself out of its freedom, wonder how deep is our allegiance to freedom."

HITS McCARRAN ACT

Taking a crack at the Attorney General's list and the McCarran Act, he said we "are no longer willing to take our chance with voluntary organizations—those organizations which from the days of the Mayflower Compact to the present have furnished the real machinery of our democracy—but require that they be vacuum-cleaned in advance.

"We are no longer willing to take our chance with immigrants, forgetting that we are all immigrants or the descendants of immigrants—but require that all be given a clean bill of moral and intellectual health in advance."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9-21-98 BY SP7C/TM

Title HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

Classification MISCELLANEOUS

Clipping from THE DAILY WORKER

(P.5, Col.1)

Dated 11/29/50

100-14160-17

He hit out at the persecution of progressive teachers and at the idea that Communists not be allowed to teach by declaring that "we demand that they conform to a prearranged pattern."

"Instead of testing teachers or universities by what they produce or achieve—which worked pretty well from 1636 on—we try to impose upon them prior standards of conduct and belief." This was the key issue in the recent departmental teacher trial in New York.

Commager assailed the oaths demanded of civil servants, and hit out at the limitations and attacks on minority parties.

"Most ominous of all," he said, "we are no longer willing to take our chance with ideas. We seem to have given up the old belief that the best test of truth is the ability to get itself accepted in the market place of ideas, and our faith that in any contest between truth and error, truth will win out . . . We hope to guard ourselves against all risks, even the risk of dangerous thoughts."

RECALLS ANTI-IMPERIALISM

Hostility to imperialism, Commager claimed, is a deep-seated tradition in American life. He recalled the powerful anti-imperialist tendencies among the people at the turn of the century.

"Now imperialism seems to have lost its frightening aspect," he claimed. "It is perhaps understandable that we are ready enough to take over air and naval outposts throughout the globe. It is less understandable that we appear to be ready to determine the kind of governments other people are to have."

"Where China, for example, is concerned, we seem to forget the principles of self-determination."

Recalling the declaration of Secretary of State Richard Olney some fifty years ago that the U. S. word was "fiat" in the western hemisphere, Commager asked whether we are "coming to think that our word is fiat throughout the globe?"

"Are we too ready to dictate to other nations the kind of economic system they should have?" he asked.

Commenting on the nation's past devotion to peace, he declared that officially we still say we are for peace. "Yet rarely, if ever before in our history has there been such widespread approval of 'preventive' war."

STRANGE TO EARS

The serious consideration given to use of atom bombs, he maintained, would have sounded strange "to nineteenth century ears."

Closely connected with this attitude toward war and peace, he said, is the deeply ingrained tradition of supremacy of civil over military authority. That principle, he suggested, has gone by the boards, as witness support for MacArthur's "attempt to determine American policy toward Formosa and—by implication—toward China."

Commager appeared to be conscious of the fact that Wall Street intervention in other people's affairs amounted to imperialism and was "unAmerican." Yet, contradictorily, he gave his blessing to the instruments of that intervention—the Marshall Plan, Truman Doctrine, Korea, its attitude in the UN.

He suggested that the big business crowd is most responsible for this drift toward unAmericanism by commenting that the demand for repression was most widespread among the champions of "free enterprise" in the economic sphere.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: December 26, 1950

FROM : SAC, Boston

SUBJECT: HENRY STEELE COMMAGER -
Information Concerning

Enclosed for the Bureau's information is a clipping from the Berkshire Evening Eagle dated December 9, 1950 captioned, "Commager Hits Smear Techniques" relating captioned person's comments at a lecture given by him at Jesup Hall, Thursday, December 7, 1950, Williamstown, Massachusetts, wherein he criticizes the Loyalty Program and the HCUA.

In this connection, the Bureau's attention is called to SAC letter #110 dated December 14, 1949, wherein the Bureau instructs that interviews are to be had with COMMAGER without Bureau approval.

NOT.

62-00-50
RES:mk
Enclosure - 1

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-27-98 BY SP-10/STH

MR. NIGRO

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

Paul Hest. Columbia

RECORDED - 110
INDEXED - 110

100-14160
DEC 28 1950

55 JAN 15 1951

Enclosure to Bureau

Re Boston letter dated December 26, 1950

RE: STEEL COMPANY
Information Concerning

Newspaper clipping

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9-21-98 BY SP7CZ/HLA

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

2+

100-14160-18

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: 8-5-57

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: NATIONAL COMMISSION ON CITIZENSHIP

67C
 [REDACTED] of the captioned Commission, called 8-1-57 and spoke with DeLoach. His Commission is considering one [REDACTED] as a principal speaker for an occasion in the near future. If [REDACTED] proves to be unacceptable, the Commission will use Henry Steele Commager, Professor of History, Columbia University. [REDACTED] wanted to know if we could be of any guidance.

After checking, [REDACTED] was advised [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was advised we had never investigated Henry Steele Commager but that Commager on occasions had shown evidence of hostility towards the FBI. Various news clippings concerning Commager were quoted to [REDACTED]. He was very appreciative.

ACTION:

For record purposes.

*407224
 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 9-22-98 BY SP7CJ/KD

cc - Mr. Jones

CDD:nl
 (3)

100-14160-
 NOT RECORDED
 76 AUG 9 1957

AUG 7 1957

CRIME REC.

63 AUG 13 1957

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 94-1-588-50

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 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Trotter _____
 Nease _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

GIR 15

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. L. V. BOARDMAN

DATE: November 25, 1957

FROM : MR. A. H. BELMONT

SUBJECT: HENRY STEELE COMMAGER
INFORMATION CONCERNING
CENTRAL RESEARCH MATTER

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 9-22-98 BY SP7CZ/DA

Tolson ☒
 Nichols ☒
 Boardman ☒
 Belmont ☒
 Mohr ☒
 Parsons ☒
 Rosen ☒
 Tamm ☒
 Trotter ☒
 Nease ☒
 Tele. Room ☒
 Holloman ☒
 Gandy ☒

SYNOPSIS

Professor Henry Steele Commager, long-time hostile critic of the FBI, is in the news again. In an article in The New York Times Magazine on November 2, 1957, entitled "Where Government May Not Trespass," Commager makes the sweeping charge that the Federal Government is moving toward thought control. As a typical example, Commager cites the opposition given to the Ford Foundation (which sponsored the Fund for the Republic). It is interesting to recall that some years ago a similar charge of "thought control" was made by the National Lawyers Guild under communist inspiration, a development which resulted in vitriolic attacks being made on the FBI.

DETAILSAttacks the Security Program

Henry Steele Commager is a Professor of American History at Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts. He is a prolific writer, and his latest offering constitutes a sweeping attack on the security program. Referring to it as a program of "monstrous abuses" and "palpable inefficiency," Commager charges that it "puts control over political and social ideas in the hands of the government."

Condemns Attorney General's List

Commager opens his attack by condemning the Attorney General's List. He depicts it as a list based on "decisions, or merely attitudes, radiating from Washington" and one which is being used increasingly throughout the country as an unfair standard governing people's lives.

A Shotgun Blast

With a shotgun blast of words Commager riddles Federal interest in foreign travel, science, education, religion, tax-exempt foundations, the press, and the arts. He concludes with the observation that growing Federal control in these fields

RECORDED-32

EX - 126

DEC 5 1957

CDB:let
 1 - Section tickler
 1 - C. D. Brennan
 1 - M. A. Jones
 1 - F. J. Baumgardner

1 - D. E. Moore
 1 - Mr. Belmont
 1 - Mr. Boardman
 1 - Mr. Nease
 1 - Mr. Mohr

CENTRAL RESEARCH

Memorandum to L. V. Boardman
Re: Henry Steele Commager
Information Concerning
Central Research Matter

constitutes a "serious threat" to "freedom," as well as to "local autonomy and to grass-roots democracy." Some of his pertinent observations in this respect are as follows:

- (1) Foreign Travel: "If everyone who expects to travel must so comport himself as to satisfy the notions of a Federal bureaucracy about political ideas, associations, and activities, control over travel may well become a powerful instrument for Federal control of thought."
- (2) Science: "...in large and important areas scientists are no longer free agent but subject to governmental pressure."
- (3) Education: "...careers may depend on obscure standards established by obscure officials in Washington."
- (4) Religion: Government control of religion has been developing indirectly "in the pressures of the Velde committee, the operation of the security program, the activities of the customs and post office censors."
- (5) Tax-Exempt Foundations: "The argument advanced by the Cox, the Reece and the Walters committees to justify their investigations into the operations of the Ford and other foundations is at once simple and delusive. It is that because they enjoy tax-exemption Government has a right to inquire into their activities. Such a theory puts "an end to freedom for intellectual or spiritual activities."
- (6) The Press: "If agencies of the national Government can influence or intimidate the press, or can control the flow of information through the press, (which Commager sees happening) we will have taken a long, and dangerous, step toward authoritarianism."
- (7) The Arts: There is pressure for Federal supervision, direct or indirect, over the films, the theatre, the radio and television. There is pressure - through the policies of the State Department - on art and music."

It can be seen that Commager has authored a vitriolic, scare-type article which adds to the recent growing attacks on our security program. "The real danger of governmental authority is in the intellectual realm," Commager states. Paraphrasing his thought, it might better be said that Commager's article illustrates that the real danger to needed Governmental authority is from the pseudo-intellectual realm.

RECOMMENDATION:

For the information of the Director.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-14160)

DATE: 12/9/57

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-98359)

SUBJECT: HENRY STEEL COMMAGER
SM-C

The "New York Times" of 11/24/57, carried an article written by the subject. One Photostat is attached herewith for the information of the Bureau.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7-22-98 BY SP7CJ/KLS

- 2 - Bureau (100-14160) (RM) (Att. 1)
1 - NY 100-98359

WPD:AJD
(3)

ENCLOSURE
71

RECORDED - 71

COPIES DESTROYED 5/20/59 E/C INDEXED - 71

18 DEC 10 1957

DEC 11 10 48 AM '57
FBI
RECEIVED BY ATTORNEY GENERAL

DEC 13 10 58 AM '57
SUBV CONTROL
BEC. SUBV CONTROL

W.C. [Signature]
18

DEC 10 1957

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-22-98 BY SP7CZ/KD

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

PF

100-14160-26

Where Government

May Not Trespass

The clamor of McCarthyism has faded away.
But, says a noted historian,
controls in the realm of ideas.
a dangerous drift is taking
place toward Federal

CLIPPING FROM THE

N.Y. Times

Editorial Page

11/24/57

PAGE 39

FORWARDED BY THE DIVISION

By HENRY STEELE COMMAHER

THE climate of freedom has cleared, to some degree at least, in the last two years—thanks in good part to the integrity and wisdom of our courts—and the nightmare of McCarthyism is receding into the past to join similar aberrations ranging from the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 to the Red hysteria of the Twenties.

But while the overt threat to freedom is less urgent, a new and, in some ways, more serious threat has developed. This is the threat of governmental control over ideas. It is more serious because it is less ostentatious and does not therefore excite alarm. It affects groups and interests unorganized and unable to protect themselves. It threatens not merely a temporary departure from sound constitutional practices but a fundamental revolution in the constitutional system itself; it also threatens the most precious of all our interests, our intellectual and spiritual integrity.

The framers of our constitutions, state and national, differed on the question of what authority government should exercise, but they were almost unanimous on the question of what authority government should not exercise. All of them—Jefferson and Hamilton, Madison and John Adams, Paine and Wilson—agreed that there were some things no government could do. And if we ask what were these things—what was the area over which government had no authority whatsoever—the answer is plain. It is the answer written into bills of rights, state and Federal alike. Government had no authority over the realm of ideas and their communication—religion, speech, press, assembly, association and so forth.

The reason that control over these matters was denied to government is equally plain. It was not out of any peculiar tenderness for preachers or writers or editors or critics. It was because the kind of governments that the framers were setting up—governments resting on the consent of the people and run by the people—simply could not work unless churches, press, universities, political parties and private associations were free to inquire,

discuss and criticize. This is not a sentimental consideration, but a tough-minded one. If government controls access to and dissemination of information, there is no true freedom, and without freedom we will fall into error that may be irremediable.

WHAT we have witnessed since the second World War, and more particularly in the last four or five years, is the entry of government into areas heretofore thought immune from governmental invasion. The danger is not—as the President and many state Governors argue—that the Federal Government has taken on new responsibilities in the realms of social security or hydroelectric power, public health or housing. These developments we can take in our stride. If they prove to be mistaken or misguided, they can be reversed. What is ominous is that government—chiefly, though not exclusively, the Federal Government—has invaded the area of ideas and their communication. It has moved, steadily and stubbornly, into control of activities traditionally—and constitutionally—immune from such control.

This is not, let it be said at once, the result of a conspiracy, or of lust for power, any more than the growth of Federal control over such matters as conservation, agriculture, banking and transportation was the product of a conspiracy or lust for power. Nobody, apparently, wants it this way, and nobody in authority is prepared to admit that it is happening. Almost everybody talks about the necessity of less control in certain areas and, for example, the return to the states of oil lands goes on apace. But in the realm that really counts—the realm that will be decisive of the kind of government we have in the future—Federal assumption of authority increases.

LET us look at this process of growing controls in the realm of ideas, and let us note the way in which local governments and private groups, ordinarily hostile to controls, supinely acquiesce in and adopt Federal practices and standards. First, there is the approval of the "security" program, which President Truman inaugurated, and which has expanded under Mr. Eisenhower. I am not concerned here with the wisdom or the ethics of the program itself, with its monstrous abuses, with its palpable inefficiency. What I am concerned with is, rather, the way in which its operation puts control over political and social ideas in the hands of government. The Attorney General's list, for example—a list to which the Wright Commission on Government Security would now give clear legality and permanence—establishes Federal standards of desirable and undesirable organizations. It is a list which state after state has adopted—and expanded; it is a list which local communities, and even private organizations, have hastened to accept as a standard for employment, or even for the purchase of library books or of works of art.

THUS New Yorkers who look with dismay on the invasion by the Federal Government of steam clearance are quite prepared to accept a list prepared by some bureaucrat in Washington as a valid test for the hiring of teachers. Thus Texans who are ready to fight at a new Alamo against Federal control of tidelands oil or of natural gas are quite ready to accept what amounts to Federal standards of what books should be in their libraries and what pictures should hang in their art museums.

Consider the furor over those who take refuge in the First or Fifth Amendment, or who refuse to "cooperate" with Congressional committees. Some states require by law that all those

in public employment "cooperate" with investigating committees; others punish by deprivation of their jobs those who, for one reason or another, take refuge in the First or Fifth Amendment, thus punishing where the law itself does not punish. Everywhere the result is the same: local standards are influenced or determined by decisions, or merely attitudes, radiating from Washington.

A SECOND example of the growth of Federal authority in the realm of ideas is the exercise of control over foreign travel. Time was when Americans did not need passports for travel abroad. Then they came to be used purely as statements of identification and formal requests for courtesy from other nations. The use of the passport and the visa as a mark of approval or disapproval is something new in our history, and it is fraught with danger.

If the right to travel abroad is to depend on the subjective judgment of some subordinate in the State Department as to whose travel is "in the interests of the United States," there is an end—in theory, at least—to freedom of travel. Who determines what are the interests of the United States? Who determines whether a particular passport applicant meets these murky criteria? If everyone who expects to travel must so comport himself as to satisfy the notions of Federal bureaucracy about political ideas, associations and activities, control over travel may well become a powerful instrument for Federal control of thought.

NOR does this principle operate only in the denial of passports. When the State Department assumes responsibility to decide that it is, or is not, in the interest of the United States for a particular person to go abroad, it follows in logic that those who are permitted to travel travel in the interests of the United States. This is, perhaps, the logical assumption behind Mr. Dulles' recent announcement that newspaper men are, in a sense, instruments of national policy.

A third area of Federal control is science. We know from our own experience, and from the experience of Germany and Italy, how important it is to national security and progress that science be free. But we know, too, that the pressures on science and scientists to be "instruments of national policy" is heavy, and growing. The concern of the Government with the whole area of nuclear physics, for example, is too obvious to elaborate, and it is obvious, too, that the Government must maintain security regulations in such areas of scientific investigation. This

It itself assures extensive Federal control over important realms of science.

Another factor making for governmental control of science is, of course, the power of the purse. It is in the interest of the Government to subsidize research in university and private laboratories; such subsidy almost inevitably carries with it some measure of direction and supervision.

But what this means is that in large and important areas scientists are no longer free agents, but subject to governmental pressure. They are committed to projects not always of their own choosing, and sometimes to the neglect of pure research of the greatest value. Universities that accept Federal subsidies find themselves accepting, too, Federal supervision over their faculty members, their research assistants, even over the uses to which their findings may be put. This is not only the negation of the function of the university, it is an enormous accretion to Federal authority. Those who oppose Federal aid to school construction but accept Federal supervision of scientific research are indeed straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel.

A FOURTH major area of Federal authority is education. An important part of American nationalism has been the absence of statism, and one thing that has contributed most powerfully to this is that education has never been subject to national control. Even those who advocate Federal aid to school building or to school lunch programs, or Federal scholarship aid, balk at suggesting Federal control over the content of education itself. Yet, indirectly, the Federal Government is moving steadily toward the exercise of such controls, and many state and local governments are enthusiastically supporting the policy. Thus teachers who belong to organizations on some Congressional "list" are in danger of dismissal; teachers who refuse to "co-operate" with Congressional committees lose their jobs; teachers who advocate policies currently unacceptable to the State Department—the recognition of Communist China, for example—find themselves in hot water—though the water is not quite so hot now as it was a year or two ago.

STUDENTS, too, must be careful what organizations they join, and even what books they read. Those who expect to enter the civil service or who are candidates for officer training have had fair warning: their careers may depend on obscure standards established by obscure officials in Washington.

There is a drift toward Government control even in the

field of religion, long thought immune. This has come indirectly, in the pressure of the Velde committee, the operation of the security program, the activities of the customs and post office censors. The spectacle of the Velde committee attacking Bishop Oxnham because it disapproved a pamphlet sent out by the Methodist Church to its missionaries, or of the Customs Office holding up literature advocating pacifism, is one to give grave concern to those who cherish the traditional separation between church and state in America. Even more ominous is the attempt of a Congressional committee to dictate policy to the Religious Society of Friends, the Quakers.

CLOSELY connected with education and religion is the work of the foundations, and here the pressure of Federal control is peculiarly dangerous. The argument advanced by the Cox, the Reece and the Walters committees to justify their investigations into the operations of the Ford and other foundations is at once simple and delusive. It is that because they enjoy tax exemption Government has a right to inquire into their activities—into the substance, as well as the administration and financing, of their work. On the basis of this theory the committees saw fit to inquire into the social and political philosophies of recipients of awards, into the interest and direction of scholarly programs.

No more specious theory has ever been advanced than that tax exemption authorizes government to inquire into the ideas of foundations. If this is true, it is equally true that tax exemption to religious bodies authorizes Government agencies to pass on the content of every sermon preached in every church, or into the doctrines taught in theological seminaries. If it is true, it is equally true that tax exemption authorizes government to investigate what is taught in the classrooms of state and private universities—a theory actually advanced by the Attorney General of New Hampshire, only to be rejected by the Supreme Court with the contempt which it merited. Once establish the theory that tax exemption authorizes Federal supervision of ideas, as distinct from overt actions, and there is an end to freedom for intellectual or spiritual activities.

ONE of the most dangerous areas of Federal control is that occupied by the press: a term which embraces books, magazines and newspapers alike. No one in America needs to be convinced of the quintessential importance of freedom of the press, yet in recent years we have witnessed a series of developments which, collectively, seriously curtail our access to information through the press.

These pressures are exercised in many ways, some subtle, some ostentatious. There is the kind of pressure that was implicit in the effort to intimidate Mr. James Wechsler of The New York Post. There is the kind of pressure involved in the prolonged denial of passports to newsmen who wish to go to China, a policy now at last reversed. There is the pressure that comes from denial of information, or from classification of information as secret.

This policy of the denial of information is one that has grown to ominous proportions in recent years. It has, indeed,



been elevated into a principle, which we may designate, after its formulator, the Philip Young Doctrine of "the inherent non-availability of information." Not only sensitive Government departments

of the Department of Defense or the Atomic Energy Commission—now have censorship officers, but almost every department; even the Civil Service Commission and the Department of Agriculture find it necessary to establish internal censorship. If agencies of the national Government can influence or intimidate the press, or can control the flow of information through the press, we will have taken a long, and dangerous, step toward authoritarianism.

THESE examples by no means exhaust the list. There is pressure for Federal supervision, direct or indirect, over the films, the theatre, the radio and television. There is pressure—through the policies of the State Department—on art and music. Refusal to underwrite a traveling art exhibit or symphony orchestra because of the political beliefs of the artists involved, squints toward what we have hitherto escaped: official standards of orthodoxy in the arts. All these developments are not only threats to freedom; they are threats to local autonomy and to grass-roots democracy.

The most notable example of centralization in the realm of civil liberties is, of course, the Fourteenth Amendment of 1868. This, the most important amendment ever added to the Constitution, worked a revolution in the relations of state and Federal governments to the rights of persons. In effect, it nationalized the

liberties of men, throwing over them the protective mantle of the Federal Government. For, whereas the original Bill of Rights had been designed to protect men against Federal tyranny, the Fourteenth Amendment was designed to protect men against state tyranny. For a long time ineffective, this function of the Fourteenth Amendment took on vitality in the Nineteen Twenties, when the Supreme Court began to hold that its due process clause in effect incorporated the guarantees of the first eight amendments, and began to apply it energetically to state denial or impairment of civil and political liberties.

RECENT civil rights legislation is designed to give effect to the guarantees of the Fourteenth Amendment and—where voting is involved—of the Fifteenth as well.

This is, of course, Federal centralization, and it is a centralization that affects the realm of ideas and their communication. The Fourteenth Amendment is not a recent development, but constitutionally almost ninety years old, and almost venerable; only its more energetic application is relatively new. It differs fundamentally from recent legislative and administrative invasion of the realms of civil and personal rights in that it is designed to enlarge, not to circumscribe, the exercise of those rights; to facilitate, not to hamper, the communication of ideas. Its application is not, in short, centralization of the control of ideas, but the use of the Federal authority to frustrate such control.

Those who fear the Leviathan state direct their fears, and their defenses, almost entirely to the political and economic realms, just as those who are determined to maintain private enterprise think of it almost entirely in economic terms. But the growth of economic centralization, mistaken as it may be, is of relatively minor importance, as the concept of private enterprise as an economic institution is of relatively minor importance. The real danger is not to economic enterprise, but to intellectual enterprise. And the real danger of governmental authority is in the intellectual realm.

ONCE allow the state to invade the areas of thought—scholarship, science, the press, the arts, religion and association, and we will surely have statism. It will be too late, then, to protect invasion of the economic realm. Those who fear the Leviathan state—and all who are steeped in the American tradition must fear it—should resolutely oppose it where it is most dangerous—namely, in the realm of the mind and spirit of men. Once we get a government strong enough to control men's minds, we will have a government strong enough to control everything.



Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. TOLSON

DATE: June 12, 1958

FROM : G. A. NEASE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-22-98 BY SP7CT/KLD

SUBJECT:

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Belmont _____
Nease _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
Clayton _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

[REDACTED]

Jackson, Michigan, called for the Director earlier today. Mr. McGuire returned the call this afternoon, at which time [REDACTED] asked for some assistance and background data which might be available on Professor Henry Commager, who has recently been in Michigan, and who, in a talk, made a vigorous attack against newspapers. [REDACTED] recalled that Commager had a distinct leftish background but when he got searching his morgue he could find nothing to back it up. He stated he wanted to ask the Director, when he placed the call, if we could send him any material which would be for his confidential information as he would certainly treat the material and the source in complete confidence. He was advised his request would be brought to the Director's attention and if there was any area wherein we could be of assistance, he could be assured we would be more than happy to do so.

I am having the Crime Records Section review our files and we will prepare, for your approval, appropriate background public source material for [REDACTED]

1-Mr. Holloman
1-Mr. Belmont
1-Mr. Jones

JJM:jmr

(5)

57 JUN 23 1958

EX-135

MCT - 49

REC- 52

JUN 19 1958

CRIME RECORDS

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 14-8

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nease *Nease*

DATE: June 13, 1958

FROM : M. A. Jones *H*SUBJECT: REQUEST FOR INFORMATION
REGARDING PROFESSOR HENRY COMMAGER

Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Boardman	<input type="checkbox"/>
Belmont	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mohr	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Nease	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Parsons	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Rosen	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tamm	<input type="checkbox"/>
Trotter	<input type="checkbox"/>
Clayton	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Holloman	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

In your memorandum to Mr. Tolson of June 12, 1958, you pointed out that [REDACTED] Jackson, Michigan, called the Director, and in the Director's absence spoke with Mr. McGuire. [REDACTED] asked for some assistance and background data which might be available on Professor Henry Commager. [REDACTED] advised Commager had been in Michigan recently and, in a talk, vigorously attacked newspapers. [REDACTED] recalled that Commager had a distinct leftish background but could not find anything in checking his morgue. He asked for assistance which he said he would keep in complete confidence.

There is attached a blind memorandum setting forth public source information appearing in Bufiles suitable for dissemination to Mr. [REDACTED]

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

DGH:geg
(8)Enclosure - [REDACTED] *67C*

JUN 16 1958

REC- 52

2 ENCLOSURE

REC- 52

5 JUN 23 1958

REG REC'D - 12/20/61
BY: <i>fkm</i>

JUN 19 1958

CRIME REC.

CC TO: <i>Nease</i>
REQ REC'D 5-22-67
MAY 31 1967
BY: <i>CLE</i>

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 9-22-98 BY SP7CT/TLD

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

June 13, 1958

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-22-98 BY SP7CJ/TLD

RE: HENRY STEELE COMMAGER
Born Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania,
October 25, 1902, Professor of
History and American Studies,
Amherst College

Henry Steele Commager was born at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on October 25, 1902. He attended the University of Chicago, receiving a Ph. B. degree in 1923, an M. A. degree in 1924 and a Ph. D. degree in 1928. He was a student at the University of Copenhagen in 1924-25. He was an instructor of history at New York University, 1926-29; assistant professor, 1929-30; associate professor, 1930-31; and professor, 1931-38. He was a professor of history at Columbia University, 1939-56. He has been professor of history and American studies at Amherst College since 1956.

Commager is a member of numerous societies, including the American Historical Society and has received numerous awards. He is well known as a lecturer and has lectured at numerous universities throughout the United States as well as foreign universities. He is also a prolific writer and has written numerous books and articles. Commager resides at 405 South Pleasant Street, Amherst, Massachusetts. (Who's Who in America, 1958-59)

As stated above, Commager is a prolific writer, and many of his writings have been critical of the Government, its loyalty program and security measures. Because of such writings, he has long been a "darling" of the Communist Party and is frequently quoted in communist publications.

In the "Daily Worker," east coast communist newspaper, for July 15, 1946, there was an article attacking former Ambassador to Russia, William C. Bullitt, for urging the United States to drop atomic bombs on the Soviet Union. Commager is quoted in the "Daily Worker" as making the following statement concerning Bullitt's article, "so gross are the distortions, so fallacious the arguments, so blatant the omissions, so immoral the proposals of this book that it can only serve to promote misunderstandings." (62-59489; 100-14160-3)

In the September, 1947, issue of "Harper's Magazine" Commager wrote an article entitled "Who is Loyal to America?". This article criticized the official objections raised to a lecture given by a Mrs. Shura Lewis at Western High School, Washington, D. C., on May 6, 1947. In her lecture, Mrs. Lewis discussed Russia and its school system and public health program.

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ENCLOSURE

She also compared Russian social institutions to those in America. In his article, Commager defended Mrs. Lewis against all criticism and criticized certain members of Congress, the District of Columbia educational system and others who spoke out against Mrs. Lewis. He discussed at length the "new loyalty," which he characterized as "conformative" and objected to the imposition of fixed concepts of loyalty and tests of disloyalty. (61-7559-2-6264; 100-14160-3)

The above-mentioned article was widely distributed by the Communist Party and communist front organizations. (100-333625; 100-14160-3)

An article by Commager entitled "Should We Outlaw the Communist Party" appeared in the "New York Times Magazine Section" for August 22, 1948. In this article, Commager pointed out that the Communist Party should not be outlawed as that would violate a basic fundamental right guaranteed by the Constitution. (100-3-74-A; 100-14160-3)

In the "Daily Worker," east coast communist newspaper, for August 27, 1948, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, national functionary of the Communist Party, mentioned the "New York Times" article by Commager, and although critical of certain statements Commager made, which she pointed out were probably made lest someone might believe he was a communist, agreed with most of Commager's article. (100-3-74-A; 100-14160-3)

In the "New York Times Magazine Section" for June 26, 1949, another article by Commager appeared entitled "The Real Danger--Fear of Ideas." In this article, Commager indicated that the fear of ideas was being fostered by the "drive on disloyalty." He ridiculed the expenditures of large sums under the Loyalty Program, and stated that the FBI had as yet adduced no evidence that traitors and spies and subversives had been able to work substantial harm to the nation. He pointed out that there were no definitions of disloyalty. He then stated, "thus J. Edgar Hoover relies upon 'easy tests' to determine a Communist-front organization: 'Does the organization receive consistent favorable comments in Communist publications?' Clearly, all that is needed here is for the "Daily Worker" to give consistent favorable mention to the Daughters of the American Revolution and the American Legion for these organizations to come under the ban." He ended this article by pointing out that the "dangers confronting us (from such things as the Loyalty Program) then is graver by far than any danger that arises from the activities from the Communists or subversives in America." (100-14160-3)

In the November 30, 1950, issue of the "Daily Worker," east coast communist newspaper, an article appeared on page 5 entitled "Leading

Historian Warns: 'We Are Moving Away From Americanism.'" In this article the "Daily Worker" commented favorably upon an article which had appeared the previous Sunday in the "New York Times Magazine" authored by Henry Steele Commager, Columbia University Historian. According to the "Daily Worker," Commager, in his article had been extremely critical of the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations and the McCarran Act.

(100-14160-A)

The "Detroit Free Press" newspaper in its issue of March 9, 1950, carried an editorial entitled "Aiding the Hisses." According to the editorial, an audience of secondary school heads attending the College Forum on Democracy heard two prominent speakers assert that this country's current concern over loyalty is the consequence of national jitters. The two prominent speakers were identified as Commager and Adolf A. Berle, Jr., law professor and former Assistant Secretary of State. The editorial stated there was no reason to suppose that either of these men were communists, but both declaimed what is obviously a recent addition to the commie line. The editorial stated that by ridiculing loyalty and security, whatever the speakers' intent might have been, they were serving Moscow most ably. (94-37515)

In 1950, the National Council for American Education, 1 Malden Lane, New York, New York, published a pamphlet entitled "Red - Uctors at Columbia University." On page 21 of this pamphlet, the following appears: "Commager, Henry Steele - Professor of American History, Committee on welcome for the Very Reverend Hewlett Johnson - member (Daily Worker, September 22, 1948, page 5)" (62-87760-29)

"Counterattack," a weekly publication of the American Business Consultants, Inc., in its newsletter, number 167, dated August 4, 1950, states that Carl Marzani was sentenced to one to three years in prison for making false statements about a membership in the Communist Party while an employee of the U. S. State Department. On February 16, 1950, he completed service of his minimum term. His appeal for parole was denied at that time and again in June. According to "Counterattack," a thousand Americans signed a petition to President Truman asking him to pardon Marzani. One of the signers of this petition was Henry Steele Commager, then a professor at Columbia University.

(100-350512-341)

The "Berkshire Evening Eagle" of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, in its issue of December 9, 1950, carried a story headlined "Commager Hits Smear Techniques." The story stated that Commager at a lecture a few nights previously criticized the recent reliance on "smear" techniques and political persecution as safeguards for loyalty. He was very critical of loyalty oaths and the Un-American Activities Committee of Congress. (100-14160-18)

On an undisclosed date, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee issued a pamphlet written by Commager entitled "Guilt--and Innocence--by Association." This article initially appeared in the "New York Times Magazine Section" on November 8, 1953. (The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has been cited by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee.) (100-384660-82; 61-7559-2-9333)

The publication, "Counterattack," identified above, in its issue of January 15, 1954, makes reference to the book, "Fire In The Ashes: Europe in Mid-Century" (recently) published by Theodore White. "Counterattack" is critical of White's book and documents his left-wing associations. According to "Counterattack," Professor Commager had praised White's book. (100-350512-565)

Commager has made the following comments, according to the "New York Times," concerning loyalty oaths:

"Loyalty oaths are a part of a rather fat-headed, civil-minded, though not altogether depraved pattern peculiar to American life. By these oaths we put a premium on conformity. This results in a society of second-class citizens unable to voice their real opinions, although the only kind of advice a society needs is unpalatable advice." (New York Times, October 10, 1951)

"Our present day wreckingcrew may knock out one of the props of our democratic system--the right of petition. After all, if a petition for clemency for the Rosenbergs, for example, or for the abolition of the Un-American Activities Committee is to expose men and women to investigation, to the charge of subversion, they will think twice before signing anything." (New York Times, November 8, 1953)

"How is the United States to fulfill the obligation which history has trust upon her? Only a committee of experts in the broad and complex field of foreign policy could work out a specific blueprint. The Eisenhower Administration has adopted, almost in toto, the foreign policies of the Truman and Roosevelt Administrations. Those who think in terms of absolutes concoct Wall Street bankers to account for the first World War, a Roosevelt conspiracy to account for Pearl Harbor, a Yalta sell-out to account for the cold war with Russia, and an Acheson-Lattimore conspiracy to account for the triumph of communism in China." (New York Times, February 21, 1954)
(97-2660-59)

dict
According to the "Washington Post and Times Herald" of November 8, 1954, Professor Commager, addressing the opening session of the National Conference of the Adult Education Association in Chicago, was critical of teachers' loyalty oaths and legislative investigations to discover subversives among educators. (100-14160-A)

dict
E. Merrill Root, in his book, "Collectivism on the Campus," with the subtitle, "The Battle for the Mind in American Colleges," published by the Devin-Adair Company, New York, in 1955, in his chapter, "How The 'Liberals' Get Around," lists some of the speakers who appeared at Penn State College from the 1930's to the date of his book. Included in this list is Dr. Henry Steele Commager whom the author classifies as a "liberal." (62-102936-1)

Morton Sobell is an individual who was sent to prison for his participation in the Rosenberg Atomic Theft case. There has been considerable agitation to free Sobell from prison. On February 12, 1955, the Chicago Sobell Committee sponsored a dinner honoring Dr. Harold C. Urey. Henry Commager was one of the "notables" who attended this dinner. (100-387835-1099)

The publication, Freedom Agenda, also known as Freedom Agenda Forum, according to George E. Sokolsky in his column of July 5, 1955, is described: "A group of pamphlets, entitled 'Freedom Agenda' has been issued under the sponsorship of the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, Inc., (CCCMF), an organization created by the League of Women Voters, and financed by the Fund for the Republic to which the Ford Foundation contributed \$15,000,000.00." (100-416111-13)

Commager's material has been recommended for reading by Freedom Agenda, and this recommendation caused considerable criticism and publicity during 1955. An American Legion Post in Wisconsin named Commager as one of nine authors which it branded as "Leftists." (100-416111-19)

Henry Steele
column
According to newspaper articles appearing in December, 1955, Commager was one of forty-six prominent individuals who requested amnesty for communists who were serving jail sentences having been convicted under the Smith Act. (100-3-74-A)

dict
The April 1, 1955, edition of the "Washington Post and Times Herald" newspaper in the Letters to the Editor column carried a long letter headlined "Freedom to Teach." This letter was signed by ten individuals, one of them being Commager. The article was in defense of Dr. Paul M. Sweezy, a well-known writer on Marxism economics who was called before the Attorney General of the State of New Hampshire on two occasions in 1954 under an act requiring the Attorney General

of the State to investigate activities that might be subversive. Dr. Sweezy had testified he was not and had never been a communist but refused to answer several questions pleading possible self incrimination. He had been ruled in contempt.

(100-346046-A)

On June 22, 1956, the Fund for the Republic issued a lengthy report on its three years work. This report had to do with various grants it had given and one of these listed is "'Tom Paine Talks Back to Providence,' article by Henry Steele Commager, reprint from the Saturday Review. 10,000 copies to educators, lawyers, civic organizations, United Christian Missionary Society and other denominational groups, Albany Board of Education." (100-391697-400)

The "Daily Worker" in its issue dated January 28, 1957, had the following to say:

"DR. HENRY Steele Commager, professor of history at Amherst rapped the use of 'loyalty' lists in casting actors for radio, TV and the movies in a speech before eight Jewish women's organizations in Albany, N. Y. a week or two ago.

"He berated Hollywood for requiring actors, writers and others to affirm that they have not belonged to 500 or 600 lists of the Attorney General, the House Un-American Activities Committee and others, and for blacklisting artists who were not 'cooperative witnesses' before congressional investigating groups." (100-14160-24)

The "Boston Globe" newspaper in its issue of February 11, 1958, carried a story headlined "29 College Teachers Here Decry Further Red Probe." The story stated that a group of 29 college professors called upon the Massachusetts Legislature the previous night to reject a resolve asking for the revival and continuation of the State Commission on Communism and Subversive Activities. The request to the Legislature was in the form of a statement signed by the 29 individuals, one of whom was Henry Steele Commager, (100-405669-A)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-22-98 BY SP7C/HLD

[REDACTED] b7c
September 19, 1961

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir,

I am a teacher of history in a private school, using a textbook The Building of America, published by the Roe, Peterson and Company.

Harry A parent informs me that one of the authors, Henry S. Commager, is a "well-known communist". Is he?

I suppose this a silly request but I feel the charge is serious enough to warrant a consultation with your office. The text itself seems factual and objective, but the pupils and parents are now apprehensive, and any clarification you can make on the subject will be most appreciated.

Sincerely yours,
[REDACTED] b7c

EX-105
REC-53

100-14160-24

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9-28-61
RDS/jw.

10-2
SEP 25 1961
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[REDACTED]

1 • [REDACTED]

67C

September 28, 1961

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102

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-22-98 BY SP7CT/PLD

SEP 29 3 34 PM '61
FBI
REC'D-READING ROOM

[REDACTED] 67C

Dear [REDACTED]

I have received your letter dated September 19, 1961, and your interest in writing to me is indeed appreciated.

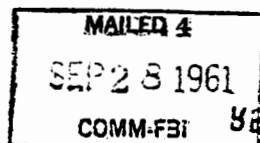
While I would like to be of assistance to you, the jurisdiction and responsibilities of the FBI do not extend to furnishing evaluations or comments concerning the character or integrity of any individual, organization or publication. Furthermore, a regulation of the Department of Justice prohibits the disclosure of information in our files to other than appropriate agencies in the executive branch of the Federal Government. I am precluded, therefore, from complying with your request for information; however, you should not infer that our files do or do not contain the information you desire.

I am enclosing several items of literature concerning the menace of communism which you may like to read.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director



Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Ingram _____
Gandy _____

Enclosures (4)

RDS:pw (3)

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW, PAGE TWO

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[REDACTED]

NOTE ON YELLOW:

[REDACTED]

67C
|

Harry S. Commager has not been the subject of a Bureau investigation. He is, however, a prolific writer and many of his writings have been critical of the Government, its loyalty program, and security measures. Because of such writings he has long been a "darling" of the Communist Party and is frequently quoted in communist publications. (100-14160)

The following items of literature were sent to the correspondent:

1. Director's Statement Dated April 17, 1961, Regarding Internal Security.
2. "The Deadly Contest."
3. "The Communist Party Line."
4. "What You Can do to Fight Communism and Preserve America."

gme
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-22-78 BY SP7/TCL/KLO

[REDACTED] 67C
January 5, 1964

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director of FBI
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Dr. Henry Steele Commager

May the Lord bless you and the work that the FBI are doing.

We are certainly praying for you and the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

I read your speech in the paper the other day and the comment you made concerning the "Extreme Groups" and the "lunatic fringe."

Do you consider the people who are warning people about Disarmament, the U. N. and the infiltration work of Communists as extremists?

It certainly was not a patriotic American that shot President Kennedy, but one who admitted that he was proud to be a communist and an avowed Marxist.

I realize that you have investigated officially, but these facts have not been made open to the public yet.

Certainly our newspaper here in town, the Tacoma News Tribune, has told us nothing, and has blamed patriotic Americans for it.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

REC-40 100 - 141622-30

14 JAN 10 1964

*Buddy
1-14-64
from Wash
1-15-64
Orcutt
from
Gung*

ENCLOSURE
1-15-64
Orcutt

JAN 9 - 1964
COMM-FBI

Sincerely Yours **FBI**
[REDACTED]

JAN 10 1964

If you are going to have or do have a mailing list, I would appreciate being put on it to receive any information that is pertinent.

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

53 JAN 28 1964

✓ D. C. [REDACTED] 4730

See work
CORRESPONDENCE
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24

211

ENCLOSURE

14160-30

Mankind's High Hopes Dimmed

(Continued From Page One)

quantity of relevant information is inexhaustible. There are no standards to fix quality. Even the problems do not stay put, but take on new manifestations as fast as we can study them in their old forms and manifestations."

Lack of Freedom

He listed as another limitation on the social scientist the lack of freedom of inquiry and communication. Unlike the natural scientist, Dr. Commager said, the social scientist faces restrictions that, say, would make impossible a free investigation of race problems, ethics on advertising or the laws governing homosexuality.

These failures are not so much failures of the social sciences as they are failures of the social imagination, the failure of responsibility, he said.

"But the social scientist must bear a heavy part of that failure," Dr. Commager declared. "They have not been able to communicate to the peoples of our own country, to say nothing of the peoples of other lands. They have not been able to work out approaches which would overcome ingrained habits, fears, timidities, prejudices—or abate religious and moral sentiments that threaten us all with disaster."

As for the future, Dr. Commager suggested that solutions to mankind's major problems might come through such instrumentalities as the United Nations, the universities and the great foundations.

Universities Can Play Role

The universities are playing a major role in the organization of knowledge and the development of talent. The foundations sponsor creative talent and organize intelligence to study specific problems, he said.

But Dr. Commager expressed enthusiasm about the United Nations and the role it will play both in the realm of international relations and in the solution of the world's major health, economic and social problems: He said:

"Whatever may be the achievements—whatever may be the fate—of the United Nations, who can doubt that against the long background of national antipathies and wars over the past 400 years, it represents a new and extraordinary departure? Who can doubt that it constitutes one of the important inventions in the history of social thought?"

"It is in this (the UN and its less publicized activities) that social science has displayed imagination and creative energy. If we do somehow manage to wrest peace out of the chaos of a distracted world, it will probably be through the beneficent operation of the UN's subsidiary organizations rather than through some magisterial agreement at the top...."

This evening Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, chairman of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, will discuss the past, present and future impact of science. Tomorrow afternoon Dr. Pearson Tolley, theologian and philosopher and chancellor of the University of Syracuse, will be the last speaker to appear at UPS as part of its observance of the 75th anniversary of its founding.

Mankind's High Hopes Dimmed, Says Speaker

By PAUL DUMAS

One of the outstanding scholars of our time, historian Henry Steele Commager, in an address here last night examined the social achievements and failures of the past 75 years, and his verdict was not encouraging to hear. Speaking to a standing-room-only audience at the University of Puget Sound, the Amherst College professor declared that mankind's high hopes for achieving a more enlightened, progressive and human society have been disappointed. And the blame must rest on all of us, the citizens as well as the social scientists, he said.

"Certainly social science has not solved or even ameliorated, the greatest of our problems—the national and ideological hostilities that glare ceaselessly upon us from every quarter of the globe," he declared. "These—who can doubt it?—more acute, more pervasive, more intractable and more dangerous than they were at the close of the last century. The touching hope of one world has been shattered."

Wall Is Symbol Now

Dr. Commager said the symbol of our time is the wall—"not just the Berlin Wall, but those other and more massive walls that all of us are building, day and night."

"Make no mistake about it. It is not the Russians alone who erect walls. Have we not attempted to erect a wall between Communist China and the rest of the world? Are not some of our political spokesmen seriously advocating that we erect a wall around Cuba as well?"

Dr. Commager listed as other major failures of the social sciences—politics, law, economics, anthropology and psychology—racial problems here and elsewhere in the world, poverty and sickness, illiteracy and the population explosion. To these he added the failure to diminish corruption in public life, juvenile delinquency

and the failure to preserve the city as a humane center for social life.

"Even in those areas where we have made progress—the attack on hunger, poverty and sickness—that progress has been limited," he said. He suggested those who might be complacent about the successes of social science in these areas should take a look south of the border of our own country, look to Africa, the Middle East and Asia, which contain the two-thirds of the world population suffering from poverty, hunger and illiteracy.

The gray-haired historian, an intense and eloquent speaker, suggested that the sheer complexity and bulk of these problems may be too great to hope for a solution. He pointed out that the social scientist cannot use the productive disciplines of the biologist or physicist in his search for answers to the big social problems of our time.

"The social scientist, studying—let us say—the decay of the city, or juvenile delinquency or racial prejudice, cannot divide up his problems into a thousand experiments conducted at a thousand laboratories," he said. "His problems are quantitative and the

(Continued on Page Two)

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FOIPA
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2 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☐ Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

Section 552Section 552a☐ (b)(1)☐ (b)(7)(A)☐ (d)(5)☐ (b)(2)☐ (b)(7)(B)☐ (j)(2)☐ (b)(3)☒ (b)(7)(C)☐ (k)(1)☐ (b)(7)(D)☐ (k)(2)☐ (b)(7)(E)☐ (k)(3)☐ (b)(7)(F)☐ (k)(4)☐ (b)(4)☐ (b)(8)☐ (k)(5)☐ (b)(5)☐ (b)(9)☐ (k)(6)☐ (b)(6)☐ (k)(7)

- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to the subject of your request or the subject of your request is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies). These documents were referred to that agency(ies) for review and direct response to you.

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EC-52

112/100-14160-31

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DATE 9-22-98 BY SP7C/TLD

January 17, 1964

67C

Dear [REDACTED]

I read your letter of January 5th, with enclosures, upon my return to the city. Your kind remarks concerning my administration of the FBI and the work of this Bureau are indeed appreciated. You may be sure we will strive to merit your continued approval.

I believe the threat of communism is serious, and I have frequently indicated that opposition to this subversive menace must be careful, constructive and rational, and kept within the due process of law. In referring to the extreme right, I did not mention any specific person or organization. I was discussing any individual or group of individuals who would disregard the laws of the United States in their efforts to achieve their ends. This could be as dangerous to our national security as the policy of the followers of the extreme left who would likewise violate our laws to attain their goals.

MAILED 19

JAN 17 1964

COMM-FBI

I am sending you a copy of my speech as well as some other material, which I trust will be of interest. I regret, however, that I am unable to furnish you this literature on a continuing basis.

Sincerely yours,

L. Edgar Hoover

Do you Really Understand

One Nation's Response to Communism

SEE NOTE NEXT PAGE

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Rm. _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

Enclosures (5)

1 - Seattle (94-326)

Reurlet 1/13/64

Faith in Freedom

Communism and the Knowledge to Combat It

An Army of Free Men

DFC:plr (4)

JAN 27 1964

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

[REDACTED] b7C

NOTE: Bufiles contain no identifiable information concerning [REDACTED] b7C
His enclosures were two newspaper clippings concerning an address made
by Henry Steele Commager supporting the United Nations. Commager is
hostile to this Bureau. A field check by the Seattle Office reflects that
correspondent is a laborer and no derogatory information was developed
concerning him. SAC Seattle did not recommend him for inclusion on
our mailing list as he requested. In view of the foregoing and the tenor
of correspondent's letter it is not felt he should be included on our
mailing list and that the above letter is in order.

67c
[REDACTED]
May 3rd 1967

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

This is to draw your attention to the lectures and present-day writings of Professor Henry Steele Commager, head of the history department at Amherst College. I think something should be done to silence this man who has nothing good to say about our country. In fact, he definitely follows a Communist line. He upholds the actions of the Red Chinese, plays down the danger of Communism as an international evil and condemns every move the U. S. has made of late to combat Communism.

Such men should not be in a position to influence our youth, nor should they have access to the radio microphone. Commager has both these advantages at present. MAY 12 1967

I hope you can investigate the influences behind this one-time American historian. Also, I hope you will draw the attention of the un-American Activities Committee to this man. The State Department, too, should be notified. Commager is a very bad case. SINCE

Yours sincerely, [REDACTED] 67c

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EX-103

May 10, 1967

REC 29

100-14160-32

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DATE 9-22-98 BY SP7CJ/KD

b7c

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b7c

Dear [REDACTED]

I have received your letter of May 3rd and want to thank you for bringing your comments to my attention.

This Bureau is fully cognizant of its responsibilities in the internal security field, and we will continue to do everything within our power to discharge our duties with the highest degree of thoroughness and dispatch.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 6

MAY 10 1967

COMM-FBI

1 - Boston - Enclosure

NOTE: [REDACTED] Henry Steele Commager was the subject of a White House inquiry investigation in 1962. He has been critical of the U. S. Government and its loyalty program. He is hostile to the Bureau and is on the Bureau's not-to-contact list.

b7c

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
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Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

BGH:jfe

(4)

MAY 17 1967

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

RECEIVED ROOM
MAY 10 1 28 PM '67

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATION SECTION

NOV 21 1967

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

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FBI BOSTON

1055AM

URGENT 6P BCM

REC-18

TO DIRECTOR ATTENTION MR. [REDACTED] DIVISION FIVE
FROM BOSTON

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, INFORMATION CONCERNING.

RE BUREAU PHONE CALL NOV. TWENTY LAST.

NO REFERENCES BOSTON FILES RE THE [REDACTED]

AMHERST COLLEGE DIRECTORY, AMHERST, MASS., FOR NINETEEN
SIXTY SEVEN SCHOOL TERM SHOWS COMMAGER PROFESSOR OF AMERICAN
HISTORY AT THIS COLLEGE AND RESIDING FOUR ZERO FIVE SOUTH
PLEASANT ST., AMHERST, MASS., WHICH ADDRESS IS ON CAMPUS.

COMMAGER'S PERSONAL BACKGROUND ON PAGE FOUR TWO FIVE
OF WHO'S WHO IN AMERICAN, VOLUME THIRTY FOUR, FOR YEARS NINETEEN
SIXTY SIX - SIXTY SEVEN

BOSTON FILES DISCLOSE FOLLOWING CONCERNING COMMAGER;

Memo [REDACTED] to W.C. Sullivan
11/24/67, "Dissenting Democrats"
+ let to W.C. Sullivan, 11/24/67

REC-18

100-14160-33

18 NOV 29 1967

53 DEC 6 1967

BS

PAGE TWO

IN LETTER TO EDITOR OF MANCHESTER, N.H., "UNION LEADER," APRIL TWELVE, NINETEEN FIFTY FIVE, WAS ONE OF TEN SIGNATORIES PROTESTING CONTEMPT PROCEEDINGS BY N.H. AUTHORITIES CONCERNING DR. PAUL M. SWEETZ, WELL KNOWN WRITER ON MARXIST ECONOMICS, FOR DR. SWEETZ'S REFUSAL TO ANSWER QUESTIONS AS TO CONTENT OF LECTURES GIVEN AT UNIVERSITY OF NEW HAMPSHIRE ON THEORY OF SOCIALISM.

"DAILY WORKER", NOV. SEVENTEEN, NINETEEN FIFTY FIVE, IN ARTICLE CONCERNING DEATH OF BERNARD DE VOTO AND HIS OPPOSITION TO "UNAMERICAN COMMITTEES," STATES "ANOTHER EXAMPLE WAS THE COMMITTEE'S THREE COUNT ATTACK ON DR. HENRY COMMAGER, THE HISTORIAN.

"ONE: THE DAILY WORKER PRAISED HIS HARPER MAGAZINE ARTICLE, 'WHO IS LOYAL TO AMERICA.'

"TWO: THE DAILY WORKER COMMENDED ANOTHER PIECE THAT THE TIME MAGAZINE SECTION PUBLISHED.

PAGE THREE BS

"THREE: HE WAS OR SO THE REPORT SAID, ON THE COMMITTEE OF WELCOME FOR THE DEAN OF CANTERBURY."

THE "CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR," FEB. ELEVEN, NINETEEN FIFTY EIGHT AT BOSTON, MASS., CARRIED ARTICLE ENTITLED, "BAY STATE RED HUNT OPPOSED." SUBSTANTIALLY ARTICLE POINTED OUT TWENTY NINE NEW ENGLAND COLLEGE PROFESSORS URGED MASS. LEGISLATURE NOT TO RENEW MANDATE OF STATE COMMISSION ON COMMUNISM AND SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES. LISTED AS A SIGNATORY WAS HENRY STEEL COMMAGER, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY AND AMHERST COLLEGE.


THE "NEW YORK TIMES," OCT. TEN, NINETEEN SIXTY, PAGE TWENTY EIGHT, CONTAINED ARTICLE DESCRIBED AS AN AD SUBMITTED AND PAID FOR BY EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE, FOUR TWO ONE SEVENTH AVE., NYC. ARTICLE CONCERNED DR. LINUS PAULING, WHO ON JUNE TWENTY ONE REJECTED DEMAND OF SENATE INTERNAL SUBCOMMITTEE THAT HE DISCLOSE NAMES OF OTHER SCIENTISTS WHO HAD HELPED HIM CIRCULATE PETITION CALLING FOR CESSATION OF NUCLEAR

PAGE 4 BS

BOMB TESTING. LISTED AMOUNT THOSE SUPPORTING DR. PAULING WAS
PROF. HENRY COMMAGER, AMHERST, MASS.

LETTERHEAD OF AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION DATED
APRIL THREE, NINETEEN SIXTY TWO LISTS ON ITS NATIONAL
COMMITTEE, PROF. HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, MASS.

CHICAGO LETTER TO ALBANY APRIL SIX, NINETEEN SIXTY TWO,
CAPTIONED "CHICAGO COMMITTEE TO DEFEND THE BILL OF RIGHTS,"
ADVISED PETITION TO PRESIDENT OF U.S. REQUESTING EXECUTIVE
CLEMENCY IN CASE OF CARL BRADEN AND FRANK WILKINSON WHO AT TIME
OF CIRCULATION OF PETITION WERE IN PRISON "FIRST AMENDMENT
VICTIMS." INCLUDED WAS PROF. HENRY STEEL COMMAGER, AMHERST
COLLEGE, MASS., AS SIGNATORY.

 ADVISED TRIBUTE TO
DR. LINUS PAULING SPONSORED BY THE MINORITY OF ONE WAS HELD
JAN. EIGHT, NINETEEN SIXTY FOUR AT GRAND BALLROOM, COMMODORE
HOTEL, FORTY SECOND ST AND LEXINGTON AVE., NYC AND DR. HENRY
STEELE COMMANGER WAS ONE OF SPEAKERS.

62
b7D

PG 5 BS

"THE WORKER" ON NOVEMBER TEN, NINETEEN SIXTY FOUR CARRIED
ARTICLE ENTITLED, "PROFESSOR COMMAGER HITS BAN ON TRAVEL TO
CUBA," QUOTING HIM AS SAYING THIS BAN "POSES THE GRAVEST
QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE VERY BASIC RIGHT OF STUDENTS, SCHOLARS
AND ALL U.S. CITIZENS TO INVESTIGATE CHANGING SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC
CONDITIONS IN KEY AREAS AROUND THE WORLD." STATEMENT MADE BY
COMMAGER IN INTERVIEW WITH THE HELEN TRAVIS DEFENSE COMMITTEE.
TRAVIS WAS APPEALING ONE THOUSAND DOLLAR FINE AND SIX MONTHS
SUSPENDED SENTENCE BECAUSE SHE LEFT THIS COUNTRY BOUND FOR
CUBA WITHOUT SPECIAL STATE DEPARTMENT PERMISSION, ACCORDING
TO ARTICLE.

"THE WORKER" ON MARCH SIXTEEN, NINETEEN SIXTY FIVE
IN ARTICLE ENTITLED, "FORM COMMITTEE TO DEFEND THREE VICTIMS
OF UNAMERICANS," STATES NATIONAL COMMITTEE HAD BEEN FORMED TO
DEFEND TWO WASHINGTON PEACE WORKERS AND A NEW YORK EDITOR
FACING TRIAL FOR CONTEMPT OF CONGRESS AND AFTER REFUSING TO TESTIFY
IN SECRET HEARINGS OF HCUA. CALLED DEFENDERS OF THREE AGAINST

PAGE 6 BS

HUAC, THE NEW GROUP WILL RAISE FUNDS FOR THE DEFENSE OF DAGMAR WILSON AND DONNA ALLEN OF WOMEN STRIKE FOR PEACE AND GENERAL MANAGER RUSSELL NIXON OF THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN. INCLUDED WAS HISTORIAN HENRY STEEL COMMAGER.

ON MARCH TEN, NINETEEN SIXTY FIVE, THE "WASHINGTON POST" NEWSPAPER, PAGE A THIRTEEN, CONTAINED AD BY THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE REPEAL OF THE MC CARRAN ACT. HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, AMHERST, MASS., WAS LISTED AMONG THE THREE HUNDRED SIGNERS.

THE "SPRINGFIELD UNION," DAILY NEWSPAPER, SPRINGFIELD, MASS., ON OCT. EIGHTEEN, NINETEEN SIXTY FIVE, REPORTED ON A "TEACH-OUT" PROTESTING U.S. MILITARY ACTION IN VIETNAM, HELD SUNDAY, OCTOBER SEVENTEEN, BY AMHERST CHAPTER OF SDS. ARTICLE CONCLUDED BY STATING STUDENTS WERE PLANNING MASSIVE DEMONSTRATION AGAINST MILITARY ACTION IN VIETNAM IN NEAR FUTURE AND PROF. HENRY STEELE COMMAGER OF AMHERST COLLEGE WOULD PRESENT HIS VIEWS TO THE PUBLIC IN DECEMBER.

END

SVW

FBI WASH DC

P

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

APR 4 1968

WESTERN UNION

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

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BIA012 1101P EST APR 4 68 (57)BA352

B SGB116 NL PDF TDSC AMHERST MASS :

J EDGAR HOOVER

FBI WASHDC

THREE YEARS AGO YOU HAD THE LIMITLESS INSOLENCE OF CALLING MARTIN
LUTHER KING THE GREATEST LIAR IN AMERICA, I TRUST YOU REALIZE
THAT YOUR VULGARITY AND IRRESPONSIBILITY CONTRIBUTED DIRECTLY
TO THE TRAGEDY OF MEMPHIS.

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER.

66 APR 29 1968

CC: Mr. Bishop

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

REC-69

100-14160-34

EX-109

1 APR 23 1968

Tolson ☒
 DeLoach ☒
 Walters ☒
 Mohr ☒
 Bishop ☒
 Casper ☒
 Callahan ☒
 Conrad ☒
 Felt ☒
 Gale ☒
 Rosen ☒
 Sullivan ☒
 Tavel ☒
 Soyars ☒
 Tele. Room ☒
 Holmes ☒
 Gandy ☒

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307A HFR

COMMAGER 6/26 NX

ADV FOR 6 P.M. EDT MON JUNE 29
FOR USE IN NORTH AMERICA ONLY

NEW YORK (UPI)--DISTINGUISHED HISTORIAN HENRY STEELE COMMAGER SAID MONDAY THAT REPRESSION MAY NOT BE AS BLATANT OR FLAMBOYANT IN THE UNITED STATES AS IT WAS IN THE ERA OF SEN. JOSEPH MCCARTHY "BUT IT IS IN MANY RESPECTS MORE PERVASIVE AND MORE FORMIDABLE."

THE AMHERST COLLEGE PROFESSOR SAID HE CONSIDERED THE "CURRENT OFFENSIVE AGAINST EXERCISE OF FREEDOM IN AMERICA" EVEN WORSE THAN WHAT TOOK PLACE IN THE MCCARTHY ERA BECAUSE OF THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT.

REPRESSION, HE SAID, "COMES TO US NOW WITH OFFICIAL SANCTION AND IS IMPOSED UPON US BY OFFICIALS SWORN TO UPHOLD THE LAW, THE ATTORNEY GENERAL, THE FBI, STATE AND LOCAL OFFICIALS, THE POLICE, AND EVEN JUDGES." HE SAID OFFICIALS LIKE VICE PRESIDENT SPIRO T. AGNEW EQUATE OPPOSITION TO OFFICIAL POLICIES WITH EFFETE INTELLECTUALISM AND CATER "TO THE SULLEN SUSPICION OF INTELLECTUALS, ALWAYS LATENT IN ANY SOCIETY, TO SILENCE OPPOSITION."

WRITING IN THE CURRENT ISSUE OF LOOK MAGAZINE, THE HISTORIAN SAID ATTACKS ON THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION TAKES THE FORM OF BOTH INTIMIDATION AND HARASSMENT, RATHER THAN OVERT REPUDIATION. ATTEMPTS HAVE BEEN MADE TO FORCE NEWSPAPERS LIKE THE NEW YORK TIMES AND WASHINGTON POST, AS WELL AS THE TELEVISION NETWORKS, TO MODERATE THEIR CRITICISM OF ADMINISTRATION POLICIES.

COMMAGER SAID THE NATION'S YOUNG ARE BEING HARASSED AND "OFFICIALS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY ARE BUSY COMPILING DOSSIERS ON ALMOST ALL CITIZENS PROMINENT ENOUGH TO COME TO THEIR ATTENTION. OCCASIONALLY, HE SAID ATTACKS ON FREEDOMS ARE "OVERT AND DRAMATIC" IN SUCH PALACES AS KENT, OHIO, AND JACKSON, MISS.

"THOSE IN HIGH OFFICE DO NOT OPENLY PROCLAIM THEIR DISILLUSIONMENT WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF FREEDOM, BUT THEY CONFESS IT IN THEIR CONDUCT, WHILE THE PEOPLE ACQUIESCE IN THEIR OWN DISINHERITANCE BY ABANDONING THE 'ETERNAL VIGILANCE' THAT IS THE PRICE OF LIBERTY," COMMAGER WROTE.

ADV FOR 6 P.M. EDT MON JUNE 29
YM1143 PED

EX-109

REC-350 100-14160-35
 Set me have memo on Commager-
 ENCLOSURE

JUL 6 1970

WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

Jones-Perkins
 6/29/70
 JFA: ngl.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Bishop

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

*407224
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DATE 9-22-98 BY SP7CT/LK/AM

DATE: June 29, 1970

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Walters _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

Washington Capital News Service release, 6/29/70, states that distinguished historian Henry Commager, in the current Look Magazine, criticizes government agencies, including the FBI, for sanctioning repression. The Director noted "Let me have memo on Commager."

DATA ON COMMAGER:

HENRY STEELE SUMMARY
Dr. Commager, born 10/25/02, Pittsburgh, Ph.D. degree from Chicago University in 1928, is presently a Professor at Amherst. He has been hostile to the Bureau and is on the Not To Contact List; in 10/49 he complained to the Bureau that an Agent unable to find him readily available for an interview, interrogated his 14-year-old daughter about an applicant.

There are numerous references to Commager in Bufiles. An applicant-type investigation on him in 1962 revealed him to be extremely liberal in his speeches and prolific writings, criticizing state and Federal security programs. In 1948 he helped form a welcome committee for the "Red" Dean of Canterbury, Hewlitt Johnson. His activities have included signing various petitions, for example: one in 1950 seeking pardon for Carl Marzani, a convicted Communist Party member; again in 1955 and 1956 for amnesty for communists imprisoned under the Smith Act; in 1961 seeking pardon for Frank Wilkinson and Carl Braden, convicted communists; and in 1961 and 1964 seeking abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. In 1960, Commager's name appeared in support of Dr. Linus Pauling who had refused to comply with the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee's demand for the names of scientists who had helped him circulate a petition calling for cessation of nuclear bomb testing. In 1/65, Commager was a sponsor for a group "Defense of 3 Against HUAC" formed to raise funds for publicizing persons convicted for contempt of Congress.

(161-2126)

In 4/61, Commager was to be a speaker at United Nations Week observances at Colorado University; the Director noted: "They had better have some strong disinfectant when this 'bunch' finish talking." (94-1-1573-59)

In 4/68, after Martin Luther King's assassination, Commager sent a telegram to Mr. Hoover that "your vulgarity and irresponsibility contributed directly to the tragedy of Memphis." (100-14160)

REC-35

SI-112

1 - M. A. Jones

1 - Mr. DeLoach

1 - Mr. Bishop

59 JUL 13 1970

JUL 6 1970 CONTINUED - OVER

CRIME RESEARCH

M. A. Jones to Bishop Memo
RE: HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

Commager recently criticized U.S. involvement in Vietnam. In 5/67 he participated in a "War Teach-In" at Harvard University, designed to obtain a "moderate course of opposition to the War in Vietnam." (161-2126) He was invited to speak at the National Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam demonstration, 10/20-2/67. (62-111181-1006) In 3/68 at a demonstration against Dow Chemical Co. at Syracuse University, a pamphlet by Commager favoring denying access by universities to such companies and Government agencies was distributed. (105-138315-9391) In 4/68, Commager was one of several who presented a document to the Assistant Deputy Attorney General criticizing our Vietnam policy; the group criticized the prosecution of Dr. Benjamin Spock. (140-38626) In 5/68, he spoke at a ceremony on Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, campus, which praised students for antidraft stands. (161-2126)

A check of Director's Office files was negative, and a check with Identification Division disclosed no arrest record on Commager.

LOOK MAGAZINE ARTICLE :

The 7/14/70 issue of Look Magazine containing Commager's article (pages 16-21) has just been received. A cursory review of it verifies the news release comment that Federal agencies, including the FBI, are sanctioning repression. The article, without further mention of the Bureau, argues that the Government has equated dissent with lawlessness and placed us in danger of a police state.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

✓

TGS/k

WBS

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1949

TO:

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Director 5633	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Mohr 5744
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Mr. Tolson 5744	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Nease 5633
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Clegg 5256	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Mr. Q. Tamm 4131 IB
<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Fletcher 1742	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr. Waikart 7204
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The New York Times Magazine

June 26, 1949

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SECTION 6



BUMPER HARVEST

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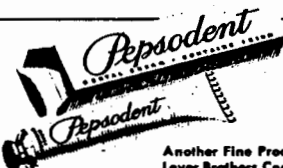
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Letters

A 'THIRD FORCE'?

TO THE EDITOR:

We could do with many more articles of the type of Francis Williams' "An Appraisal of European Socialism."

There is one interesting point which Mr. Williams, as a friendly visitor, could not make, but which might not be out of place as a suggestion from this side of the ocean. Is it not possible that democratic socialism, which has pointed the way out for Western Europe, may prove the salvation eventually of the United States also? Will we not need some day a "third force" or a "middle ground"?

A. GARRICK FULLERTON,
New York.

'FANCIFUL ILLUSION'

TO THE EDITOR:

Francis Williams states in "An Appraisal of European Socialism," "Despite their differences in economic principle, there is no reason why a satisfactory and cooperative accommodation should not be reached between the European Socialists and American capitalists."

Mr. Williams' intimation that they could do so quite readily is nothing short of fanciful illusion. American capitalism functions by dint of the individual profit motive. Under socialism, profits derived from labor accrue to society as a whole. Mr. Williams' notion that the two systems can merge for purposes of "checking communism" is fantastic.

Mr. Williams attempts to save the day when he says, "They (European socialism and American capitalism) can only do so if their co-operation is allowed to lead to a quick, demonstrable improvement in the social and economic conditions of the mass of the people." This, of course, is the crux. Possibly, socialism can produce these benefits. American capitalism, however, is definitely not the

real or lasting benefits to these masses.

EUGENE ALBERT,
Croton-on-Hudson.

[In 1948, United Nations statistician J. B. D. Derksen compiled these figures of the real annual per capita income, of various countries for 1946 (expressed in 1938 dollars): United States, \$740; United Kingdom, \$460; Sweden, \$425; France, \$240. Absence of details prevented establishing a comparable figure for the Soviet Union.—Editor.]

OPA

TO THE EDITOR:

Did you get Washington mixed with Italy in that illustration of Barbara Ward's



17th Century OPA in Pisa.

"Italy Is Outwardly Poor but Inwardly Rich," or did the Pisans beat us to it on the OPA? PAUL F. KLAASSEN,
Buffalo.

[The Pisans beat us with the initials, but their meaning concerns place not price. According to some authorities the "OPA" on the sculpture is an abbreviation for *Opera del Duomo*—Works of the Cathedral—a mark on monuments within the cathedral precincts.—Editor.]

FROM DR. MEKLEJOHN

TO THE EDITOR:

The letter of Raymond B. Allen, president of the University of Washington, published in your columns on May 8, in which he criticizes my article, "Should Communists Be Allowed to Teach" seems to me to need no general reply. At every point his contentions rest, I think, on misquotations of the official record or of my statements about it. But your readers who would seek to refute or to verify this judgment of his arguments could do so only by putting side by side for careful study (1) the record, (2) my article and (3) Mr. Allen's reply. The long and difficult inquiry here needed is, we presume, now being carried on by Committee A of the Association of University Professors.

Some of your readers may, however, wish to check Mr. Allen's letter with the text of the article which it attacks. In that case I feel bound to call their attention to three points

(Continued on Page 4)



French Socialists—President Auriol (left) and Leon Blum.

vehicle for carrying out this program. It has been in a position to effectuate such a policy for many years now, but at no time has it honestly considered the "mass of the people." It is not now considering them, and there is nothing in either the program or philosophy of American capitalism that promises any

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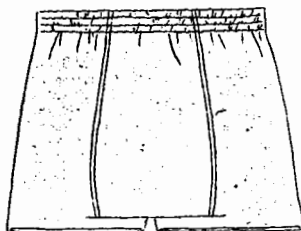
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MAGAZINE, JUNE 26, 1948.



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(Continued from Page 2)

at which the reply clearly distorts and falsifies what I said.

First, Mr. Allen quotes me as saying that the Tenure System is based upon the "premise that the motives of administrators are somehow less worthy than his (my) own." My actual statement was the exact opposite of this. The Tenure System, I urged, does not "say that these officials are more evil than others. It says only that they are more powerful than others."

Second, Mr. Allen quotes me as saying that the principle of academic freedom is "no broader than this (the Tenure System)." And to this he adds, "Apparently, in his (my) view, there are no other influences that could restrict the freedom of the teacher." What I said was that the Tenure System seeks to protect academic freedom from administrators "so far as dismissals are concerned." I did not say or even suggest that if men are secure from dismissal their minds will be free. Security, too, has its own dangers. I am sure, for example, that the freedom of mind of the Washington professors who were not dismissed has been far more seriously damaged than has that of those dismissed.

Third, Mr. Allen's most serious misrendering of my words has to do with the question whether the Tenure Committee of the Faculty, in its recommendations, approved or disapproved the dismissal of Professors Joseph Butterworth and Herbert J. Phillips. On this point I said that "by a vote of eight to three" the committee decided that "there were, under the Code, no grounds for dismissal." Mr. Allen challenges this statement and proceeds to refute it. But, in doing so, he omits from the sentence which he attacks the words "under the Code." He thereby quotes me as saying that "the faculty committee, by a vote of 8 to 3, found no grounds for dismissal." And the omission of the words "under the Code" so completely falsifies my statement that he

feels justified in suggesting that I have not read the record.

These inaccuracies, I am sure, do not indicate that Mr. Allen intends to deceive his readers. But they do indicate that, in the interpretation of the words of one who opposes him in discussion, he falls in "objectivity of mind." That failure transforms discussion into fruitless controversy.

ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN,
Berkeley, Calif.

TV AND THE EYES

TO THE EDITOR:

I was much interested by Jack Gould's "What Is Television Doing to Us?" but you



Child television lookers.

did not tell what it will do to the eyes, if anything. Concentrated watching, hour after hour, with the slight flicker which is present in even the best sets, might have a bad effect.

You mention that children sometimes watch the sets as many as eight or nine hours a day. Information on this subject would be very helpful. At present, I have no set.

J. T. EMERY.

Glen Ridge, N. J.

[Mr. Gould replies: "Ophthalmologists say television looking does no organic injury to the eye. It may cause fatigue, but a night's rest cures that. The fatigue factor is important in the case of children,

since excessive looking may make them unduly tired and otherwise influence their social behavior."]

FROM TV TO DOING

TO THE EDITOR:

In Jack Gould's "What Is Television Doing to Us?" some prognosticators are quoted as saying the growth of television will make us "a nation of lookers instead of doers," and I feel inclined to dispute this point of view. The fact is, we are now a nation of "lookers," and television may achieve an opposite effect and make us more active.

When the entertainment we now "go out" to see is made accessible in the home, it would not necessarily mean that people would spend much more time at home but that when they do "go out" they will seek other types of pastime. I foresee that the development of television will force the conversion of many movie palaces into indoor swimming pools, bowling alleys, tennis courts, etc.

HERMAN TRITLER.

New York.

NATIONAL HEALTH

TO THE EDITOR:

Regarding Senator Hubert H. Humphrey's "The Case for National Health Insurance," it would be well for all sides to stop their not-so-cold war and push legislation upon which all are agreed. Whether we have prepaid voluntary or compulsory health insurance, we will need a great increase in plant and personnel. Congress can help by legislation to subsidize the building of the necessary hospitals, clinics, schools, and encouraging the recruitment of doctors, dentists, nurses and sanitary engineers so as to make the 40 to 50 per cent increase now needed.

Such legislation should also provide for integration from the large medical center to the smallest unit in a remote hamlet so that complete facilities are available for every doctor. Since it has been shown that millions of our countrymen will probably be unprotected under any voluntary plan, immediate free provision through the public health services should be made for that 25 per cent of our population.

VICTOR F. LIEF, M. D.
Far Rockaway, N. Y.

GARDEN IMPLEMENT

TO THE EDITOR:

In "Memoir Written With a Non-Green Thumb," C. B. Palmer writes that the best way to garden is with a "shakerful" of martinis at one's side. I'm here to say that anyone who would shake martinis would drink ginger ale with his whiskey. I'll bet Mr. Palmer does. W. W. Douglass, N. Y.

[Mr. Palmer replies: "And what on earth does W. W. mix his martinis in?"]

The New York Times Magazine Contents

JUNE 26, 1949

THE REAL DANGER—FEAR OF IDEAS. By Henry S. Commager	Page 7
GOETHE: AN APPRAISAL. By Thomas Mann	12
IF PAIN IS CAN-CAN—By Ana Hightower	13
STATE OF MIND CALLED KANSAS. By Kenneth S. Davis	14
WHAT WE KNOW ABOUT CANCER. By Waldemar Kaempffert	14
SUMMER CAMP. By Lawrence Sanders and Mary Frank	18
THE TENTH MAN ON THE HALL TEAM. By Harvey Breit	19
"JUNE LIBERTY"	22-23
SUMMER IS SEX TIME.	40-41
A SONG FOR A SINGING ARMY. By Sigismund Spaeth	42-43

LETTERS	2-4	HOME	24-25
PARENT AND CHILD	26	FASHIONS	26-27
FOOD	27-28	PUZZLES	46

The Misery Waltz

Oh Misery of Miseries!

But who forgot to look for the "Sanforized" trademark on those shorts? Who but your good, forgetful self? Now, as a result, you're caught with gripping, binding shrinkage.

And it makes no sense at all, at all. For you know, we know, *everybody* and his brother and sister knows that "Sanforized" on a garment label says *that the garment will never shrink out of fit!*

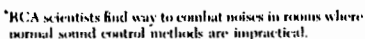
So from this day on, *insist on seeing* "Sanforized" on your shirts, shorts, and pajamas. And, ladies—in your own mysterious department—do the same sensible thing!

The comfort never shrinks away from the garment with "Sanforized" on the label.



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Cluett, Peabody & Co., Inc. permits use of its trademark "Sanforized," adopted in 1930, only on fabrics which meet this company's rigid shrinkage requirements. Fabrics bearing the trademark "Sanforized" will not shrink more than 1% by the Government's standard test.



*RCA scientists find way to combat noises in rooms where normal sound control methods are impractical.

These "Cones of Silence" smother sound!

You think of RCA Laboratories—in part—as a place where scientists work with *sound*, for radio, television, phonographs. This is true, but they are also deeply concerned with the subject of *silence*.

One example is a recent RCA development, a way of killing clatter in places where conventional sound-conditioning—with walls or ceilings of absorbent materials—would get in your way. Overhead pipes, ducts or fixtures might prevent the installation of a

sound-absorbent ceiling—and you wouldn't want to blanket a skylight.

RCA's invention solves the problem in this way: Cones of sound-absorbent substances are clamped together base-to-base . . . then hung in rows where they won't be in the way. Light, inexpensive, and easy to install, these "Cones of Silence" convert sound waves into heat energy, and will absorb from 60% to 75% of the clatter in a noisy room.

How you benefit:

The development of this new functional sound absorber indicates the type of progressive research conducted at RCA Laboratories. Such leadership in science and engineering adds value beyond price to any product or service of RCA and RCA Victor.

The newest developments in radio, television and electronics can be seen in action at RCA Exhibition Hall, 38 West 49th St., N. Y. Admission is free. Radio Corporation of America, Radio City, New York 20.



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The bogey of hysteria—"Are we, in fact, in danger? Are we disunited and torn by dissension? The contrary is true."

Drawing by William Sharp.

The Real Danger—Fear of Ideas

FOUR times in our history we have given way to fear of ideas and indulged in measures of suppression and oppression.

The first example occurred in the Seventeen Nineties and early Eighteen Hundreds, when "the wise, the rich, and the well-born," that is, the Federalists, frightened out of their wits by the excesses of the French Revolution abroad and Thomas Jefferson at home, enacted the lamentable Alien and Sedition laws.

The second example came in the Eighteen Fifties when the slave-owning South, convulsed by fear for the "peculiar institution," drove out those who criticized it, gagged the press, censored the mail, purged colleges, and, in the end, seceded from the Union.

In the third example, in the Eighteen Nineties, respectable gentlemen, especially in the East, deluded themselves that the Populist party was made up of anarchists, that all labor leaders carried sticks of dynamite in their pockets, that Peter

Professor Commager says that this mental state is being fostered by the drive on "disloyalty."

By HENRY STEELE COMMAGER

Altgeld was a new Benedict Arnold and William Jennings Bryan an anti-Christ.

The fourth instance of hysteria came after World War I when Americans whipped themselves into a frenzy over a bugaboo of bolshevism sweeping the United States, deported hundreds of harmless aliens, sent Eugene Debs to a Federal penitentiary, purged Legislatures of Socialists and spread syndicalist laws and "teachers' oath laws on their statute books.

It is a sobering thought that none of these past hysterias was a reaction to anything that really threatened the American Republic, the Constitution or our democracy and, moreover, that we have acknowledged and repented these mistakes of the past. The Alien and Sedition Acts were repealed and their victims compensated. Southerners are satisfied now that slavery was a great wrong. Practically every plank in the Populist platform of 1892 has since been enacted into law.

We are not proud of our record of the Twenties.

Yet we have not, it seems, learned anything from history. With all these precedents to give us pause, we are now embarked upon a campaign of suppression and oppression more violent, more reckless, more pervasive, and ultimately more dangerous than any in our history.

What is the explanation of the present hysteria? Are we, in fact, in danger? Are we disunited, and torn by dissension? The contrary is true. Never before have the American people shown themselves to be as united as in this last decade.

It was not always thus. Jefferson in his First Inaugural Address said this was the only country "where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order as his own personal concern." But that was not true during the Revolution, when about one-

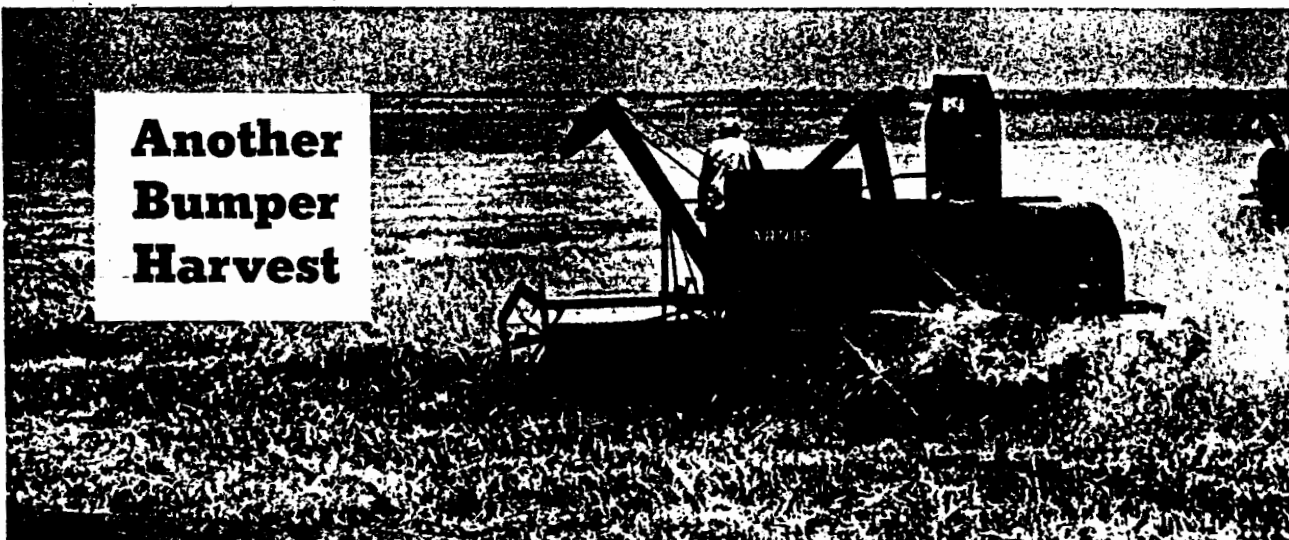
third of the American people were loyalist and another third neutral. It was not true during the War of 1812, when large numbers of the people bitterly opposed the war and effectively sabotaged it. It was not true during the Mexican War, when opposition to war was widespread and ardent in the North. It was not true during the Civil War, when both North and South were torn by internal dissension. Yet it is an interesting fact that we fought all these wars without sedition acts or loyalty oaths.

In the first World War there was considerable opposition from pro-German and pro-Irish segments and from unregenerate isolationists, but for the most part Americans were united. In the second World War the American people were united as never before in their history. There was less opposition to war, less sabotage than in any previous war. Political parties sank their differences; racial and national groups, labor and capital united in the common cause.

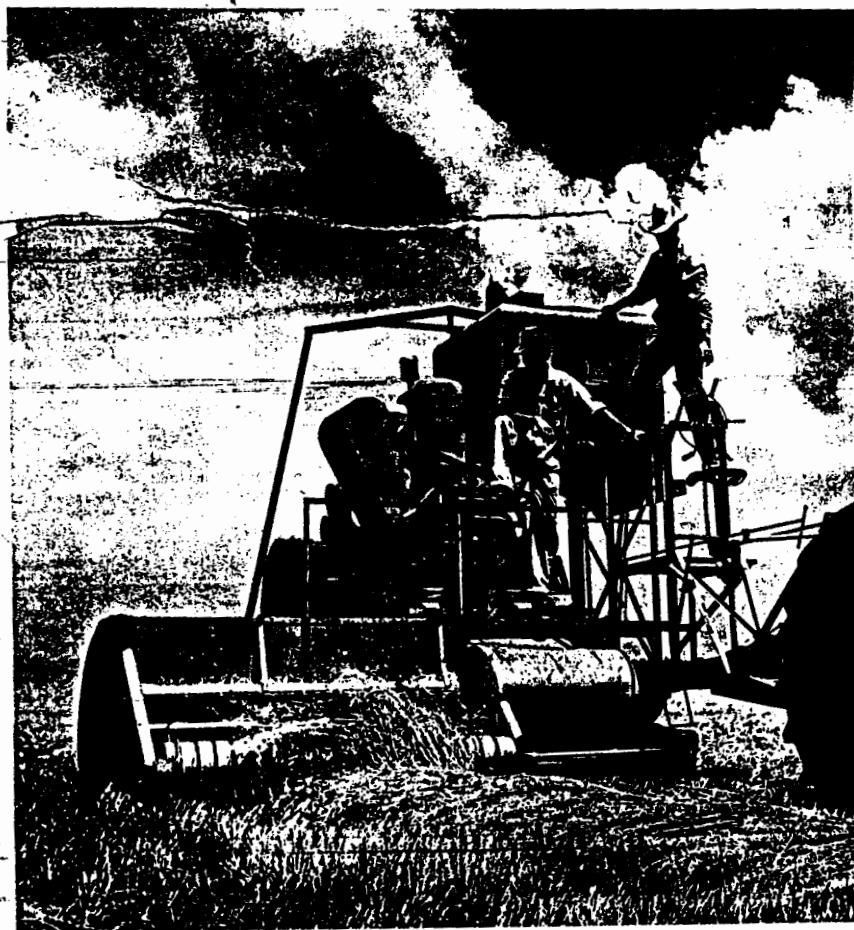
We emerged from World War II incomparably the strongest, the richest, the best armed nation on the globe. We are almost tempted to say, with Horace Walpole back in 1763, "throw (Continued on Page 44)

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, Professor of History at Columbia University, is the author of "America in Perspective" and other works.

Another Bumper Harvest



Combines march across the land—Like great mechanical insects or tanks on maneuvers, combines like these cut swaths across the nation's wheat lands to garner the 1949 bumper crop.



A tractor-towed thresher at work in north Texas, which, with Oklahoma, produces the first of the season's grain crops.

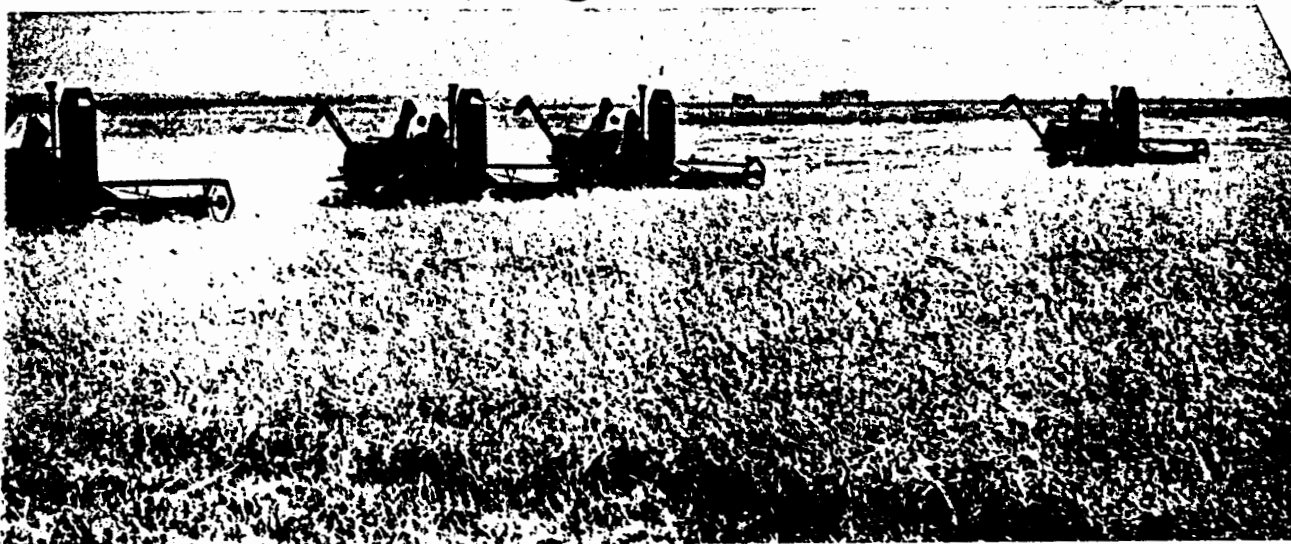


Modern combines, which head, thresh and clean the grain.



Trailer camp for harvest hands, who move from job to job.

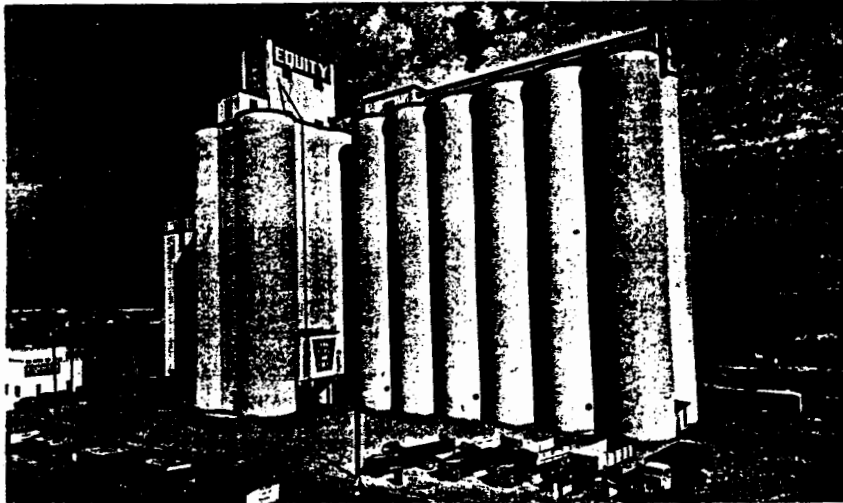
THE NEW YORK TIMES



which forecasts a rate as second largest in history. The Department of Agriculture has estimated this year's crop may reach 1,336,997,000 bushels, compared to 1947's record 1,367,186,000.



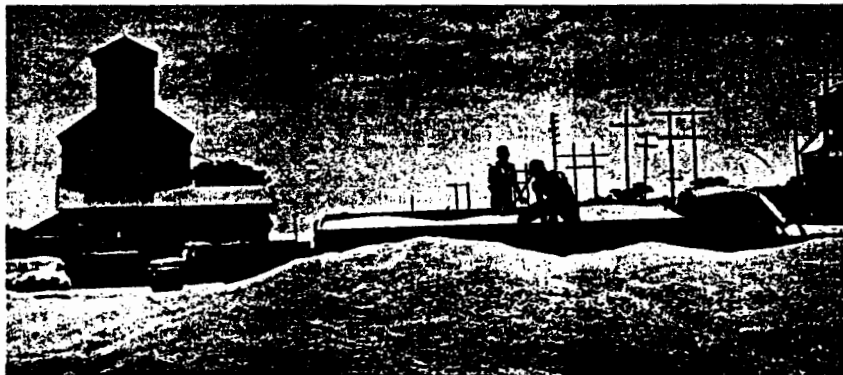
are kept in good repair by a shop that travels with them.



Grain elevators are already glutted by last year's surplus; the Government has acted to build more storage space on its own.



Boat of crew is named Hamm. Figure 27 is "population."



Piles of wheat lie outside grain elevators in a typical scene last year. The farmer is wondering, will this happen again this year?

Goethe: 'Faust and Mephistopheles'

Thomas Mann appraises a great poet as the embodiment of Germany's ambivalent genius.

By THOMAS MANN

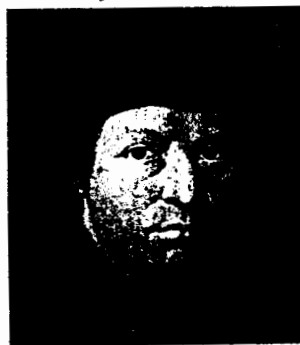
GERMAN genius has been embodied in three monumental figures—one religious, one creative, one political—who, despite the diversity of their personalities, their times and their missions, reveal a definite family likeness. This likeness lies in their immense and isolating greatness, which seems to transcend the European norm. It suggests that men of prodigious stature thrive only in Germany. That is an optical illusion. For, whereas the heads and heroes of other nations can be compared to the proudest peaks in a mountain range, not so far above the average height as to dwarf their surroundings, the great men of Germany are like towering summits that rise from the plain in overwhelming majesty, seemingly without peer.

For this reason hero worshippers like Carlyle have always been Germanophiles. They believe in Nietzsche's bluntly aristocratic dictum that a nation is "nature's roundabout way of begetting three or four great men"—an essentially German pronouncement and one which the Germans, more than any other people, are prepared to accept. Greatness in Germany, in other words, tends toward an undemocratic aggrandisement. Between it and the masses lies a gulf—a "pathos of distance," as Nietzsche says—that is wider in Germany than in those countries where greatness does not create a contrast between servility on the one hand and an overweening self-exaltation on the other. These countries we might call the happier, did we not know that each nation finds its own happiness in its innate characteristics.

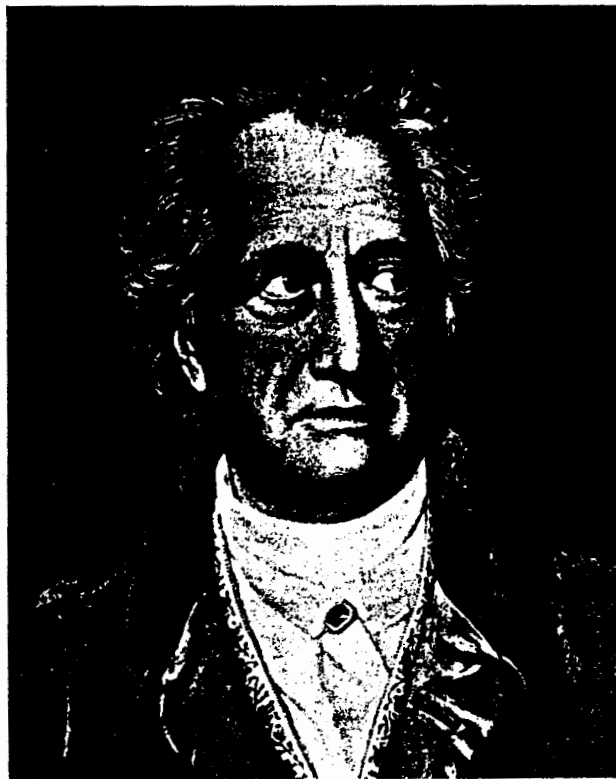
The three mighty figures to whom I refer—and I shall speak of only one with real affection—are Luther, Goethe and Bismarck.

THE first, Martin Luther, the Reformer, was a product of the sixteenth century; the man who shattered the religious unity of Europe, a rock of a man, a man of destiny, a harsh, vehement but profoundly spiritual eruption of the German character. He was an individual both uncouth and delicate, sensual and sensitive, impulsive and impelled, revolutionary and reactionary, imbued with peasant energy; a theologian and a monk, but an impossible monk—"for a man cannot, by natural desire, dispense with woman." Perpetually wrestling with the devil, holding a superstitious belief in demons and change-

THOMAS MANN, author, Nobel Prize winner, and active anti-Nazi, is internationally known as one of the great living writers and as an authority on Goethe. On the long list of his major works is "Freud, Goethe and Wagner."



Luther.



Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) in his eightieth year.

lings, he reverted from the Renaissance to the Middle Ages.

Though theologically somber, he enjoyed life, as he proved by his love of wine, women and song, by his proclamation of "evangelical liberty." Pugnacious, cantankerous, a mighty hater wholeheartedly prepared to shed blood, he declared that the pestilence of the earth, the cardinals, the popes and the canker of the Roman Sodom, must be assailed by force of arms, that mankind must wash its hands in blood. A militant advocate of the individual, he defended man's immediate access to God and his spiritual subjectivity against the objectivity of clerical dominance. At the same time he educated his followers to submit to divinely ordained authority and urged that the rebellious peasants be beaten, throttled, run through with the sword.

Totally lacking in sympathy for the humanism of his day, even German humanism, he grew all the more deeply absorbed in German mysticism. Stubbornly orthodox, he seceded from the Church only to found a rival church with a rival dogma, with new heretic scholasticism and new charges of heresy. Not only anti-Roman but anti-European, furiously nationalistic and anti-Semitic, Luther was also deeply

musical, a gift that helped him mold the German language. Thousands of copies of his translation of the Bible, a literary feat of the highest order, were circulated among the people by means of the newly invented printing press.

AS much the product of his ear for music as of his ear for the devout cadences of mysticism, this translation created the German written language and gave literary unity to a religiously and politically dismembered land. What happened after and because of Luther, what Erasmus predicted—horrible bloodshed in religious conflicts, Evea of St. Bartholomew, Germany depopulated and culturally retarded—twice as much as this the bull-necked barbarian of God would willingly have shouldered. "Here I take my stand, I cannot do otherwise."

Three hundred years later came that phenomenon Bismarck, a political genius of German stock. In three bloody wars he created the Prusso-German "Reich," assuring its hegemony in Europe for decades. Brutal, sentimental, a hysterical colossal with a high-pitched voice, given to nervous fits of weeping, Bismarck was a titan of unfathomable cunning and of such cynical frankness that official reports of

his speeches (according to Lord Russ) had to be suppressed.

Despising his fellowmen, he conquered them by force or by charm. A worshiper of success, a realist, a passionate enemy of ideologies, he possessed a person of almost superhuman dimensions, an eccentricity that made everyone about him tremble with enthusiasm. When a subject devoted to Bismarck cried that for his sake he would gladly be torn into a thousand pieces, Bismarck replied: "Not into so many; that's unnecessary." At the mere mention of a political adversary, his face was said to resemble that of an enraged lion. His appetite was gargantuan. For dinner he would devour a turkey, drink half a bottle of cognac, three bottles of Apollinaris, and smoke five pipes. And on such a diet lived to be 83.

To him, as to Luther, hatred was a passion, and though, as an aristocratic diplomat, Bismarck had European polish, he, too, was anti-European. He struck down and humiliated Austria, France, those pillars of Old Europe, as a true brother of the man of Wittberg, he tried in the Kulturkampf to smother Catholic, universalistic, "ultramontane" influence upon Germany.

A REVOLUTIONARY and yet, like Luther, a man whose bear-like strength was fundamentally atavistic, he thoroughly bewildered liberal Europe by the triumphant success of his shrewd Machiavellianism and strengthened in Germany a submissive adoration of power as much as he weakened faith in ideas and values which were more delicate, noble and humane.

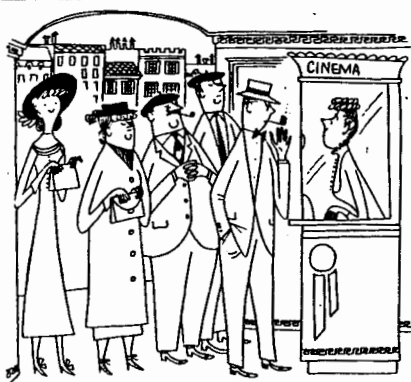
Calling himself, not hypocritically but out of prodigious sentimentality, "a faithful servant of his Master," Kaiser Wilhelm I, Bismarck was in reality an iron-hearted, pathologically irritable autocrat who tolerated no rival, insisted on doing everything himself, and finally deprived his nation of education toward self-government. Bereft of power in his old age he was tormented by worry for the future of his creation, the German "Reich." Ho rightily, we all know today.

Between these two men lies the eighteenth century—all hail to it!—the century that produced in Germany a "great man" of world-conquering amiability, the Superman in the guise of a poet and a hero of peace, blessed by nature with the powers of the spirit, the darling of mankind. This is what one is tempted to say when confronted with the reverent and unanimous sympathy with which literally (Continued on Page 38)

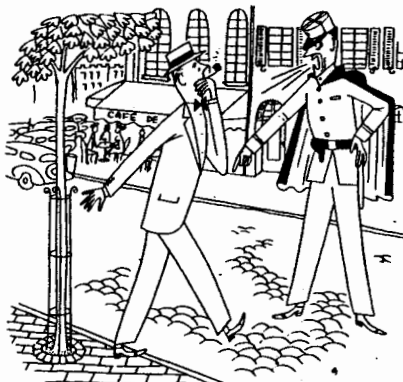


Bismarck.

SIX FANCIES—AND THE FACTS—ABOUT FRANCE



"L'amour is free and easy."



"Gendarmes are always polite."



"All French women are chic."



"All cafe habitués are intellectual."



"The French love French movies."



"All tradesmen are gypsies."

Drawings by Roy Doty.

If Paris Is Can-Can, New York Is Tom-Tom

Certain American delusions about France ought to be cleared up for the benefit of both sides.

By ANN HIGHTOWER

IF you plan to pack your bags for France this summer, you can make them much lighter and your trip much easier by leaving behind some myths about the French. The general myth of French frivolity or lightheadedness is the big item. It includes the postcard version of "gay Paree" brought home from World War I—can-can girls, champagne corks and oo-la-la. Along with this goes the notion that all French women take lightly to thoughts of love; that the average Frenchman is an intellectual dilettante who turns imaginary wheels of progress with the airy breath of his cafe conversation.

There is another set of matched, mental baggage you should check at home if you want to see the real fauna of France. These preconceptions will only obscure your vista: French politics are so chaotic that no one can understand them; the French are grasping and dishonest, and will gyp you every chance they get; red tape is the tie that binds the Frenchman and the American tourist. On the other hand, these notions might lend an unreal rosiness to your view: that all French movies are good; all French gendarmes are polite; all French women are beautiful.

ANN HIGHTOWER, an American living in Paris, has written extensively on French folkways.

and anything goes in a wide-open Paris. Many visitors to France will go back to the States after a three months' fling of night spots and sight-seeing without remarking that can-can girls and champagne play about the same part in French life today as the tom-tom and totem pole in American life.

OTHERS will have readjusted some of their notions to something closer to reality. Take the great American adage that love is lightly undertaken by the *mademoiselles* of France. Here's the complaint of a baffled Pacific war veteran now studying at the Sorbonne:

"I don't know what those European vets were talking about. After listening to their stories about Paris, I find myself over here wound up in a romance with a French girl whose family is so austere I'm not even allowed to take her out. It seems that I haven't been properly introduced or something. We made a deal with a French boy. He takes her out and they meet me in a cafe. She has to be home by twelve!"

After a Kinsey-like tally of the opinions

of local Americans, it appears that romantic liaisons do come easier here than at home. But the edge is not as overwhelming as you'd think. The post-war slack in morality that tripped up the liberating GI's has been taken up by parental snafus.

It's been a long time, too, since anyone has carried on like the lovers of "Paul et Virginie," if anyone ever did, or the lover in Rousseau's "La Nouvelle Héloïse," who kissed the steps leading to his beloved's chamber. Nevertheless an aura of this romantic fancy about the French hung over until the general crash of belief during the war. Now the war is over and the aura blown away.

Someone recently wrote a play on romantic love. Critics from right to left blasted him with a sorrowful "Too late!" More typical is Armand Salacrou's "Inconnue d'Arras," which reviews the life and loves of a suicide. His conclusion: man must be satisfied with mediocrity and the world as it is. That's a far cry from Héloïse and Abélard and the three musketeers.

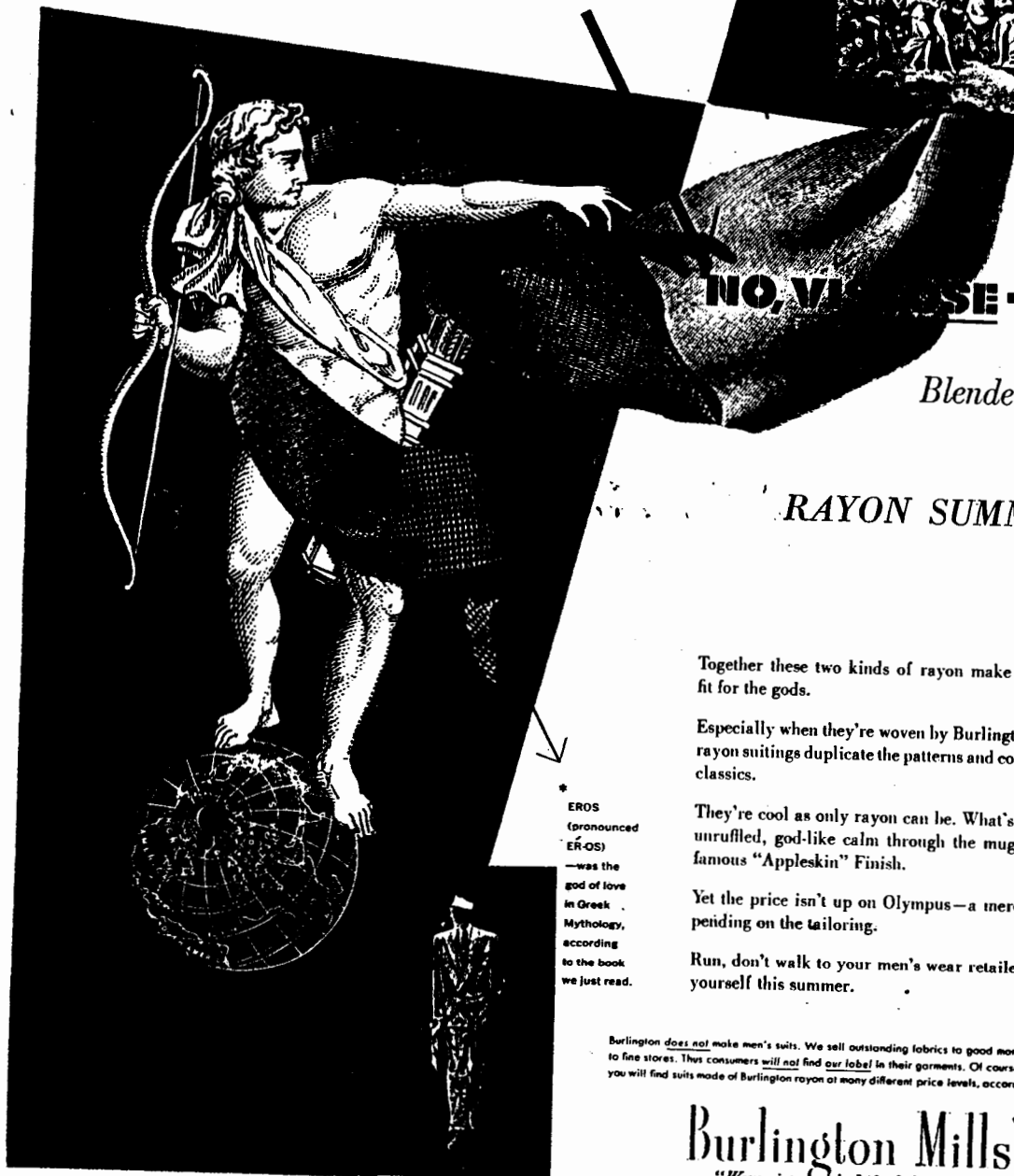
The contrast between the actualities of

French life today and American notions of French frivolity and lightheadedness showed up in an American newspaper story. It was reported that New York critics found not one play of some five French productions on Broadway gay. To this a French intellectual commented mockingly, "How can anybody dance on his grandmother's grave these days?"

IN the plays of the best-known dramatists—Sartre, Camus, Salacrou, Montherlant—the visiting American theatergoer will not find a Folies-Bergère or a drawing room comedy with cardboard lovers. He will witness instead a tortured struggle to get out of an impasse—the "no exit" of meaninglessness. The war, the shame of France's fall, the Occupation's daily compromise were a long torture to the French conscience. The effects show up in the post-war existentialist probe of man's responsibility in a world of absurdity. The problem is not new. Adam and Eve mulled it over on their one-way journey out of Eden. But in France intellectual crises come to a quick boil and a long settling.

Play producer Georges Vitaly told heckling students who demanded some explanation of the mystifying Audoubert concoction "La Fête Noire": "We've got to look for different forms of expression. Our heads are swollen now to twice their size with (Continued on Page 16)

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"The Line Storm"—John Stuart Curry portrays his native Kansas.

That Strange State of Mind Called Kansas

KANSAS—that geographic heart of our nation which often has been the focus of national attention, grave or gay—today is presenting an interesting spectacle. The spectacle actually began last year when, after a campaign reviving some of the fanatical fervor of Carrie Nation's heyday, Kansas in November gave the lie to one of William Allen White's most famous prophecies, "They'll vote dry as long as they can stagger to the polls." Instead Kansas went soberly to the polls and repealed state prohibition by a 50,000 majority. Even Carrie Nation's home town of Medicine Lodge was among those voting to repeal the amendment which had been in the state's Constitution since 1881.

This done, Kansas' Legislature had to replace the bone-dry law with some sort of legal control. So a bill for state monopoly was promptly introduced. But also introduced was a bill permitting privately owned package stores, and the legislators were in a quandary. On the one hand was the Puritan desire to mitigate evil. A state monopoly would provide more effective control of liquor. On the other hand was the commitments to private enterprise and profit. A state monopoly smacked of "socialism."

We Kansans "solved" the problem by passing, at last, a measure in which profit, on the whole, overcame Puritan scruples. Beginning Friday, privately owned package stores only will be legal, and liquor sales will be permitted only in communities that voted wet in November or in special referenda.

The ink was scarcely dry on the Governor's signature before business men in

As the state goes from bone-dry to wet, a native examines its "self-contradictory personality."

By KENNETH S. DAVIS

communities voting dry last November were petitioning to place "local option" on the ballot in the spring municipal elections. The very thought of all that liquor business going to neighboring wet communities was a breeder of nightmares. And when the first Tuesday in April came, only seven of twenty-five allegedly dry communities rejected home-owned liquor stores. By mid-May, some thirty-five communities voting dry last November had reversed themselves.

Thus the pocketbook triumphed over the sense of sin.

To what extent is all this significant of the state's personality? Does the state really have a distinctive personality? The latter question can be answered at once. Kansas does have a distinctive if often self-contradictory personality—being in this respect like Texas, or Maine, or California—and proof of it is the stereotyped (and unflattering) impression of herself made on the national consciousness.

The stereotyped conception of the physical Kansas is a flat, treeless plain reaching endlessly under an enormous sky, swept by scorching winds in summer and bitter blizzards in winter, tormented by tornadoes in spring and fall, and plagued often by grasshoppers that eat every green thing. Each element of this picture has some basis in fact, but as a composite view of the state it is highly inaccurate.

Part of Kansas is flat and treeless, but most of it is not, and the bluestem country of the eastern third of the state has a rock-riddled tree-dotted landscape as lovely as any in the Middle West. Kansas experiences extremes of hot and cold, but the climate by and large is one of the most pleasant and healthful in the nation. Tornadoes do visit Kansas, but their incidence per square mile is less than in Iowa. And Kansas did have a grasshopper plague back in the Eighteen Seventies, but hasn't had anything like it since.

THE most significant thing about the unflattering stereotypes of Kansas is that they are largely of the Kansan's own making—a fact revealing a most peculiar temperament. Other states boast of their advantages; Kansas boasts of her ills. Other states speak loudly of their blessings and softly (or not at all) of their misfortunes; Kansas does the reverse. She spreads abroad tall tales of her anguish: the worst droughts, the dreariest landscapes, the biggest winds, the smallest potatoes, the most voracious grasshoppers. She displays a masochist's delight in suffering or a tough guy's pride in being able to "take it." Consciously or unconsciously, Kansans have encouraged the popular view of their state as 82,000 square miles of monotony so boring. (Continued on Page 50)



Carrie Nation's temperance crusade—A 1901 newspaper cartoon.

KENNETH DAVIS lives in the other Manhattan—in Kansas. A biographer and novelist, he wrote "Soldier of Democracy," about Gen. Eisenhower.



Pathfinder—Dr. Charles B. Muggins, who developed the new serum test for incipient cancer, lectures at the University of Chicago.

What We Know About Cancer

An appraisal of medicine's most challenging mystery reveals increased but incomplete knowledge, and a wide area of hope.

CANCER is as old as life. Plants, animals and men have died of it for thousands of years. Yet experimental research in cancer, research that deserves to be called scientific, began only fifty years ago.

The knowledge acquired in those fifty years is enormous, gratifying and perplexing. It is gratifying because tumors can now be removed with safety from parts of the body that no surgeon would touch only twenty years ago and because we are now entering the chemotherapeutical or medical stage of treatment, so that injections or pills will accomplish as much as

WALDEMAR KAEMPFERT, science editor of The Times since 1931, has written on scientific and medical matters for over forty years. In preparing this article he consulted with experts of three national cancer research institutions.

By WALDEMAR KAEMPFERT

X-rays and radium, and sometimes more. And it is perplexing because so many contradictions, so many observations, manifestly related, await the magic touch that will make them click into significant patterns, like the colored bits of glass in a kaleidoscope.

THE perplexities are naturally the direct concern of science. Here are a few:

In a mixed population of an island in the Netherlands East Indies, Malays and Chinese eat the same food, but the Chinese are subject to cancer of the stomach, whereas the Malays are virtually free from it. Why?

Does cancer run in families? The authorities say that only a susceptibility is inherited. A Madame "Z" comes down in medical literature be-

cause out of twenty-six members of her family sixteen died of cancer. Out of 174 members of the "G" family of Michigan forty-one succumbed to cancer. There are striking cases of identical twins who developed tumors in the same period of life and occasionally in the same site. Some types of cancer appear generation after generation in families.

Malignant tumors have been known to shrivel and disappear spontaneously in a few cases. Why? Nobody knows.

Why should excessive doses of X-rays, radium and other agents incite cancers, but proper doses destroy them?

Cancers of the skin, mouth, esophagus and stomach are more frequent in the poorly paid than in the well-paid and well-to-do classes. A matter of nutrition, perhaps?

A diet lower in calories than is considered necessary for the maintenance of good health reduces the incidence of cancer in both animals and men. But why should restriction of calories have little if any effect when a malignant tumor is well started?

Why is cancer more prevalent in the temperate climate?

There is no pre-pneumonia stage, no pre-diphtheria stage, no indication in the body that a particular infectious disease is about to gain a head. But there is a pre-cancerous stage. Why?

THERE are several hundred of these puzzles. Fifty years of research have solved them, so that there is no cure for cancer—yet. Meanwhile, the scourge acts an ever-increasing toll of life. In 1930 it killed 117,800 in the United States; this year it will kill well over 190,000 in 1930, unless some spectacularly successful treatment is discovered, statisticians estimate that of the 58,735 Americans who will be over 45, it will kill 288,500.

These statistics are not as gloomy as they look. Though cancer spares neither children nor octogenarians, its victims are chiefly those who have reached passed middle age. Because of the advance in medical science, we live longer than did our grandparents. The dramatic increase in cancer mortality is, therefore, what statisticians expect.

Yet, if you ask experimenters and investigators where the treatment of cancer stands after fifty years of research, the answer is bright with hope. Even in backward present, 65,000 of the 190,000 who are doomed to die of cancer this year can be saved, if they have the benefit of the best surgical and medical skill of the time.

What is cancer? A disorderly, unusually rapid, abnormal growth of tissue that destroys life if allowed to run its course.

Because there is as yet no cure for cancer in the medical sense, malignant tumors must be cut out, or destroyed—by way not yet understood—by X-rays or the rays given off by radium. So blue summary does scant justice to advance in surgery or radiology. No one would have dared to remove a cancerous lung two years ago. Now it is done. Sufferers from cancer have had three-fifths of the stomach, part of the colon and the whole脾 cut out and lived for years. As for X-ray machines of today, they are marvels of power and ingenuity—precise the dosages delivered. Besides, we have the radioactive isotopes which are so plentiful that whatever place they have in the treatment of cancer should soon be established.

BOTH surgery and powerful rays are of no avail if a malignant growth is detected too late or if malignant cells have been carried to distant vital organs, thus to start secondary cancers. Hence for decades efforts have been made to find a chemical test for incipient cancer—not just early cancer, but the deep hidden cancer that is just starting and that escapes the best diagnostic skill. In other words, a chemical test as good as a Wassermann in syphilis is wanted. There are urine tests, ultra-violet-ray tests, tests with such dyes as methylene blue or cresyl blue, electrical tests and a score of blood tests. Some of these are about 80 per cent accurate, but they are complicated and they can be made only by trained technicians. Also they indicate too much. Nearly all are positive for diseases other than cancer and usually for pregnancy. (Continued on Page 24)

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If Paris Is Can-Can—

(Continued from Page 11)
logic. It no longer means anything. We must try other things in the theatre. Maybe incantation."

Playwright Audibert intoned: "Humanity shows a growing sense of horror with itself, as it continues to make love, war and sickness in the same manner without advancing a millimeter. The only hope is in a profound modification of man or his complete disappearance."

TAKE the French translation of the Kinsey report. Sales were negligible, and a publisher here explained why: "When a Frenchman sees that great monstrosity of facts and figures, he recoils. We've had too many of those facades of fact with nothing behind them. We had dozens of scientific figures on the impregnability of the Maginot Line. We had figures from Pétain, from Goebbels, and some people I won't mention. We don't believe in figures any more."

Cartesianism—that Maginot Line of philosophy—collapsed with the French front in 1940. That left the Frenchman as helpless and hopeless as an American would be without his monkey wrench or screwdriver. So if you see him sitting in a sidewalk cafe brooding over a drink or blowing, not tugging, at windmills, you should know that he isn't kidding himself either.

Minor myths don't fall into one big duffel bag like the persistent myth of French frivolity. Some are favorable, some unfavorable. Probably the favorite is the idea that French politics are completely confused, while the American two-party system follows a clear, sensible line. But listen to a French view of it:

"How can anyone blame your unfortunate M. Gallup for not knowing who was going to be elected? You have no way of knowing because your two parties are a mixture of all shades of opinion, reactionary to labor socialist. We in France have five major parties. The voter can pick the one which exactly represents his point of view. When the votes are counted we know what the people want. With your peculiar set-up, it appears that, though Mr. Truman is elected, nobody knows who elected him and why. We have read reports saying he was elected by labor. Others say he was elected by farmers and small business men. And no one seems to know what policies they expect him to follow."

THE belief that all French are grasping and dishonest gets a severe setback before the indignant energy with which Parisian shopkeepers and kiosk keepers insist on returning forgotten or neglected francs of American customers. It also makes you wonder when you find penniless stu-

dents or writers who have been living for months in unpainted hotel rooms, and are being carried along by shopkeepers to whom they are perfect strangers.

IF you think French red tape is something, imagine the job of a Frenchman applying for an American visa and remember that we enter France with only a passport. And compare the breezy informality of French customs with our own dehumanized machinery.

Among the favorable notions which Americans have about the French is the conviction that they can't make a bad movie. Don't be surprised if you see the longest queues in front of a Marx Brothers film or a Laurel and Hardy. Only the better French films get to New York. The average is no better than the Hollywood product. Most of those Americans over here who have settled down look eagerly for a new American film when they go out.

Another is the firm and usually dependable belief that French gendarmes are unfailingly polite. (A gendarme, as Alexander Woolcott explained is a genial figure with a cap who stands at crossroads and arranges accidents.) Usually they will stop whatever they are doing and salute you when you approach (traffic is left to its own devices) and point out your obscure direction in detail. But try to cross a street outside of the lane for pedestrians! Back you go like an errant schoolboy to do it again and this time properly.

Many American males enjoy the illusion that all French women are beautiful and dress with chic. I don't want to be accused of cattiness, but hairdos and general get-ups of the ladies who throng the Champ Elysées do not seem to match the standards of Fifth Avenue. There are, of course, extremely chic ladies to be seen at extremely chic places.

DOES anything go in Paris? Not legally, just generally. Things aren't wide open; they are half closed. For the moment at least, Paris is under a siege of post-war puritanism that will probably extend through the summer.

But don't get me wrong. You'll find the gay little revue and antics which show that the froth of blithe, extempore rancorous wit remains. You'll experience the endearing esprit/soubriété—the kidding back and forth of neighborhood folk in the streets, the shops, the cafes. Fishermen still drop their lines into the Seine as it flows by Notre Dame.

And without much effort you can go home with the impression that Paris means can can girls, champagne cork and oo-la-la. Isn't New York just tom-tom and sky-scraping totem poles? At least that's what my French friends tell me.

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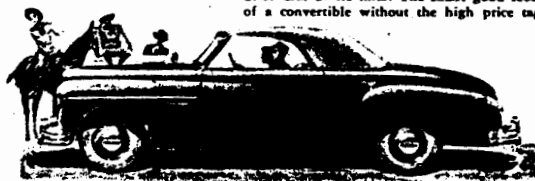
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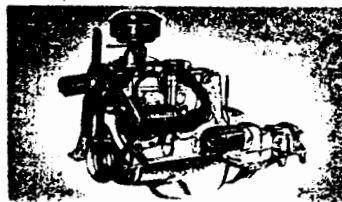
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Summer semesters—Girl campers gain invaluable bits of knowledge like how to make a bed, above. Boy campers, below, eat supper and talk to grocers about the menu (as they would at home) because the day's doings are so well worth talking over.



Summer Camp: Credits and Debits

It provides good times and valuable schooling for children, but it may be harmful to those in need of parental company.

IN many a household the moment is at hand when Junior or Sister is receiving a last-minute admonition to be good, and careful, too; when handkerchiefs, pocket-money and travel instructions are checked over once more and a neatly combed head or so gets fond farewell pats. The youngsters are heading for summer camps.

From the moment they depart, and for the two weeks or so that elapse before the first visiting day, some parents may be assailed by doubts: Will Sister be

LAWRENCE and MARY FRANK are specialists in child guidance (including their own six children). Mr. Frank is the director of the Caroline Zachry Institute of Human Development.

By LAWRENCE and MARY FRANK

homesick? What of all the possible hazards and dangers Junior may encounter? A few—but not many—parents will heave a sigh of relief as they think of two months of home life without the constant and often disturbing presence of children. Still other parents may wonder whether camp life will give the youngsters more self-confidence and sociability, if it will provide outlets for aggressive activities.

For all parents who are trying the summer-camp idea for the first time the big question is how well will the camp provide for the child and how much will the child get out of it? As they await

the answer it will be wise for them not to expect too much. The camp cannot be the whole, but only a part, of a child's education.

CAMPS nowadays have many improvements in personnel and facilities which should still the worries of concerned parents. Every good camp has an experienced director or directors. Many counselors are trained in special college courses for the activities they will lead. A desirable recent development has been the pre-season conference of the camp staff to plan the program; after the summer post-season conferences to review activities and plan for the year ahead. These meetings indicate the growing professionalism

of camp operation, signifying better living experiences for children.

What are the advantages and disadvantages of going to camp?

The summer camp, primarily, can give great value in helping a child to learn and gain independence. It can be only child by giving him the experience of living with other children. It can give opportunity for the timid child to gain courage and learn to do things the confidence he has previously lost. It can help the child who has been shadowed by brothers or sisters to cover his own abilities.

CAMPING itself is a wholesome experience for children. Outdoor living; group activities are offered in a favorable natural setting where youngsters can engage in games, hikes and nature trails available in the city. For rainy days are shops, studios and indoor activities providing opportunities for craft and other creative projects. Play pageants are put on in the better camps. Another advantage is acquiring a sense of camaraderie, of sportsmanship of the solidarity encouraged in a group. These form the basis for all education. When a child learns not to identify a leaf or to fashion a cash tray but also how to get along with others by enjoying them and liking share what he has with them, he has a long way in his education. For groups do provide experiences which child cannot acquire for himself.

But camp should not be considered a therapeutic experience in itself. Too many parents feel that sending a small child to camp will be "good for him" or will "make a man of him." Unfortunately, other children cannot always be expected to bend over backward for weakness. They may try, but even so won't slow up continually for the who is notably uncoordinated or unable to take part in sports.

AGAIN, it would be quite harmful to send a child who is a bed-wetter to a camp where he will be shamed in front of a group. The opprobrium of a camp color or of a group of youngsters is no sort of treatment that bed-wetting needs. Shaming a child into doing anything is not a wise method, as we know. If a child is slow in skills, in speech, in movement, the parent must weigh carefully the advantages of the outdoor life against possible embarrassment close living brings.

Not all camps are ready to provide the unhappy, deeply upset or disturbed child needs if he is to benefit from camping experience. It calls for skillful guidance than many camps prepared to give, since they are operated on the principle that the child will adjust to the camp routine. In a large camp especially, the counselors are often too busy with the group to give the kind of individual care and attention that some children urgently need. Thus the choice of proper camp—not necessarily the one the most famous—is important.

The parent must understand that there are more important matters than physical assets of the camp. The camp with the trained counselor for the anxious to develop his special skills; camp with the professionally trained nurses in a case where a child is in health; the camp not too distant from city for the insecure child who needs regular visits from the folks—these are some of the factors which make for helpful camping experience.

The routine (Continued on Page

The Tenth Man On the Ball Team

It is the manager who shapes the squad,
and in the end wins—or loses—games.

By HARVEY BREIT

WHO wins baseball games? Who is the most important man in the club? Fans can argue this delicate point all evening, considering and rejecting the fielders, the hitters, even the pitchers, and inevitably come around to one unassailable view: it is the team—the whole team working together—that wins.

This conclusion, which seems to return to the point of departure, in reality brings us to the heart of the matter—to the man who shapes the team and who daily takes its measure and makes its smallest decisions. That man, of course, is the manager.

The question then is: Do managers win games? And, if they do, is it because of their players, or in spite of them, or through a shifting, uneven combination of both? Is Casey Stengel, the astonishing manager of the New York Yankees, as weak as the weakest link in his chain? Is a manager the creature of his players, or does he create an entity different from and superior to the arithmetical sum of the parts?

A manager does win games. In 1947 Durocher shepherded the Brooklyn Dodgers, with a second-rate pitching staff, into the National League championship. If a manager is good enough, he does weld a purposeful, cohesive unit, a "whole consort" working together: Billy Southworth's 1948 Boston Braves played ball far superior to the individual play of team members and took the pennant.

A manager cannot, obviously, do the impossible; his brilliant strategy, if it is not properly executed, goes aground. But he can exploit the abilities of his players: the right directive to the right man may carry the day. Here and there, now and then, the home run and the shutout are obviously the decisive factors. But day in and day out, in the long haul and in the tight spot, it is the manager who is the key man.

OF course, a manager's job isn't all managing. In the complex industry that major-league baseball has become, a key man needs many talents. Games are won not only in the ball park but at spring training quarters, where the manager finds his steel and tempers it; in the "front office," where the team's weaknesses and strength are analyzed and players shifted, farmed out, traded, sold; in the locker room, where statistics and direct observation are brought to bear on the chinks in the armor of the opposition. In spring quarters, a manager must be a teacher; in the front office, a business man; in the locker room, a psychologist; in the ball park, a strategist.

Beyond this, he has to be a diplomat. He has to act in the interests of the owners and act in the interests of the ball-players, and keep the trust of both; he has to impress the press, capture the fancy of the fans, and still be able to

live with himself. About the only thing he doesn't have to be is a great ball player, provided, of course, that he knows the game as intimately, profoundly and richly as Einstein knows space.

Selecting the team doesn't wait for spring training; it begins, at least in the manager's mind, as soon as the last game of the past season is ended. Baseball to a manager is what a shell is to a tortoise: he is never out from under it. Between seasons, he is considering his old players (counting on some and discounting others) and planning on new players. His waking hours are occupied with trades, replacements, new discoveries and talent hunts. There are also the innumerable "ifs": Will a pitcher recover his former magic? Will a batter be as brilliant as he was last season?

WHEN spring training comes around a manager moves from theory and paper work to practice and begins to find out what he's got and where he stands. This is the point at which he starts to pare down his squad and build up his players. It is a time of selecting, correcting and sustained therapy. Coaches and assistants give specialized aid to the players, but the manager bosses and organizes the entire process.

On the Dodgers' first official training day this year, Manager Burt Shotton had his boys—more than forty of them—"get up separate and call out his name." Each player was asked his opinion of his own playing weaknesses. Most of these "confessions," according to Shotton, were fair and accurate.

"The big job is to find out what the players' peculiarities are," Shotton says, "what you can expect from them, what you can't. The big thing is to work on what they can do, but don't do well."

It is often little things that a manager finds out. Some years ago, during pre-season training, Durocher detected the cause of pitcher Vic Lombardi's wildness. He had developed a head-bob just before he threw the ball, and that tiny bobbing motion broke the pitcher's sights: he was, in a sense, throwing blindfolded.

This year, Shotton and his coaches noticed that Gil Hodges wasn't keeping his eye on the ball. They made Hodges concentrate on the ball as it left the pitcher's hand. They knew infielder Billy Cox had everything—except confidence. Shotton assured him during the spring that he owned third base and Cox has since repaid his boss' faith in full.

"He just had to be made to exert himself a little extra," Shotton says. "And that's the biggest kick for a manager—to see a boy doing well."

A MANAGER has a theoretical idea of what his players are like on opening day; he has a more practical idea after a month of play. "If you've got an anesthesia ball player, you've got to get rid of him," Durocher says. "And if you haven't got glue, you've got to get it."

"An anesthesia player" is one who has been great but is fading. "Say he's at second base," Duro- (Continued on Page 42)



TWO SCHOOLS OF MANAGERS—The Giants' Leo Durocher, an exponent of the "glue" or pep-talk school, in a ruckus with the umpire. Below, the Dodgers' Burt Shotton, a "dugout manager," who stays off the field. Here he signals for a play by touching his hand to his tie.



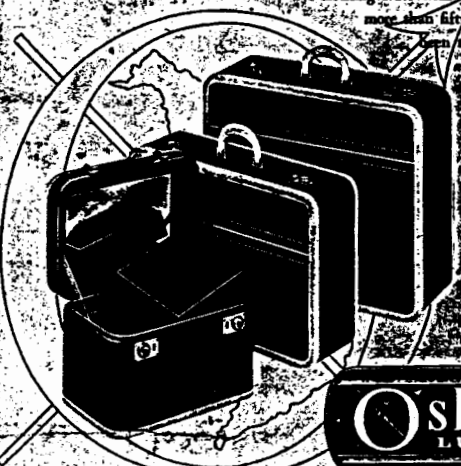
HARVEY BREIT, of The Times staff, in his youth played third base for several sandlot teams (that got along without managers).

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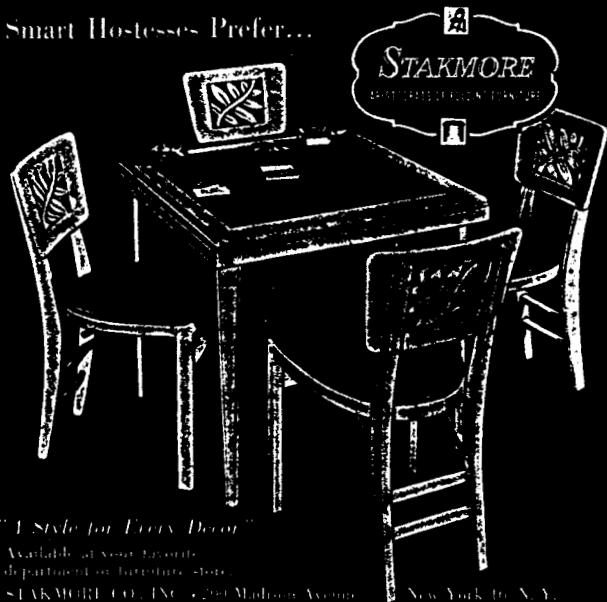


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Summer Camps: A Balance

(Continued from Page 18)

scheduled activities of camp life are likewise important. A 12-year-old may be ready to take this scheduling because he is eager to go with the group, even if he has to give up his own special whims of the moment. But for younger children—usually those up to 10 years—there may be a question about a "completely scheduled life." Group living imposes a strain on all of us, whether at the office or in family life.

ONE of the hallmarks of the good camp is the flexibility of its program—whether children can choose among a variety of activities rather than being given a specific time and place for each one. Young children should have an opportunity for exploration: a chance to play with real mud (in city parks, we have to substitute sand); to play with baby animals and thereby evoke a first interest in science. Youngsters need not wait until there is a course labeled "Biology" in high school to learn about the field mouse or the frog. In a good camp there is an excellent chance for exploration in natural history, if the children are taught on their hikes. Needless to say, this sort of camp may not, and probably will not, conform to a standard of rigid neatness or tidiness.

Sanitation and health care are essentials, but tidiness, strict order and beautiful swimming pools are not on the list of essential specifications for young children's camps. Any wise mother knows this is true at home, and should expect it to be so at camp.

It must be realized in selecting a camp that sleeping out of doors and a lake to swim in will "not" always assuage a young child's anxieties and worries about his relationship to his family. If, in very difficult family situations, the young child must be sent to camp, the same principles that apply to a nursery school hold good. He ought to be able to visit the camp in advance to see where he will sleep, to get an idea of what he will be able to do during the day. The camp should provide ample opportunity for his parents to visit him, so that the child can show them around, exhibit his skill. If he can share his experiences with them, show them his "gang," his bunk, he may not feel that his experience is so isolated from the family.

ONCE the child has left for camp he is "on his own." Camp, unlike school, goes on all day long. For young children it needs to have the emotionally satisfying qualities of a good home—it needs someone who is aware that bedtime, for example, can be a lonely time without a pat on the head, a good-night hug, an

extra bit of attention, warmth, a time for each child to be talked to or read to played with. The other side of this picture, of course, is many 7 and 8-year-olds consider Mom or Pop just a nuisance.

AT camp you wear comfortable, simple clothing, wash when other children usually for meals, but you not nagged to, keep your clean. You can run and jump about without making neighbors or the neighbor baby. What's more, you don't have to be somebody's brother or sister and follow them around for amusement. You have a group of children your own age and, perhaps away from the family ties, shine as an athlete or a woman. And yet, even in most rugged of young adventurers, there is a nostalgia for the familiar at bedtime, the assurance that you somebody's somebody.

On a little 8-year-old know is extremely ambivalent about her camp, although all appearances she loves when she is there. "It's like school," she says, "never have any time to myself—just to be by you and do nothing."

Going away from home not always easy. It may especially upsetting if there is a change in the family situation such as the birth of other baby or if there has a divorce, or if both parents want to go away on an extended trip. If the child feels that being pushed out of the home, the camp may seem a punishment for him and not a reward. Parents ought to pains to talk over going camp in these cases, smoothing the child to ask the questions he is bothered about listening attentively and tently to what the child

CAMP—and its aftermath—can be a unique educational experience. It will help to teach attentively to stories of camp life, of what the child did, what he made, how learned to swim, to paddle, tests he passed. These are important to his development, but may be robbed of value by an indifferent or occupied parent who listens and show admiration. Since camp life is becoming a tradition among our youngsters, because of the influence it holds in their parents can learn a great about their children from them. They can learn that, with supervision and a whole environment, children can all day long. For young children it needs to have the emotionally satisfying qualities of a good home—it needs someone who is aware that bedtime, for example, can be a lonely time without a pat on the head, a good-night hug, an

along with them.

THE NEW YORK

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feeds its people well—and exports large quantities of many foods. Exports have climbed nearly 600 percent.

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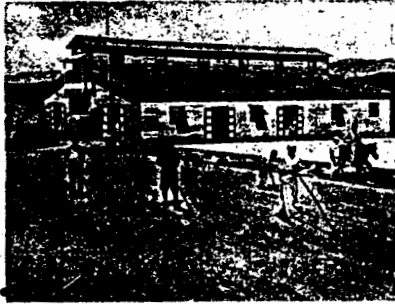
reserves, and substantial dollar balances in New York. *The Dominican peso today is worth exactly 10 U. S. dimes.*

These are only a few of the results that have come from the Dominican government's scientific direction applied to production, marketing and finance. Dominicans are proud of their country's prodigious achievements.

For information concerning tourist attractions or business opportunities, write to the Dominican Republic Information Center, 6 West 51st Street, New York 20, N. Y.



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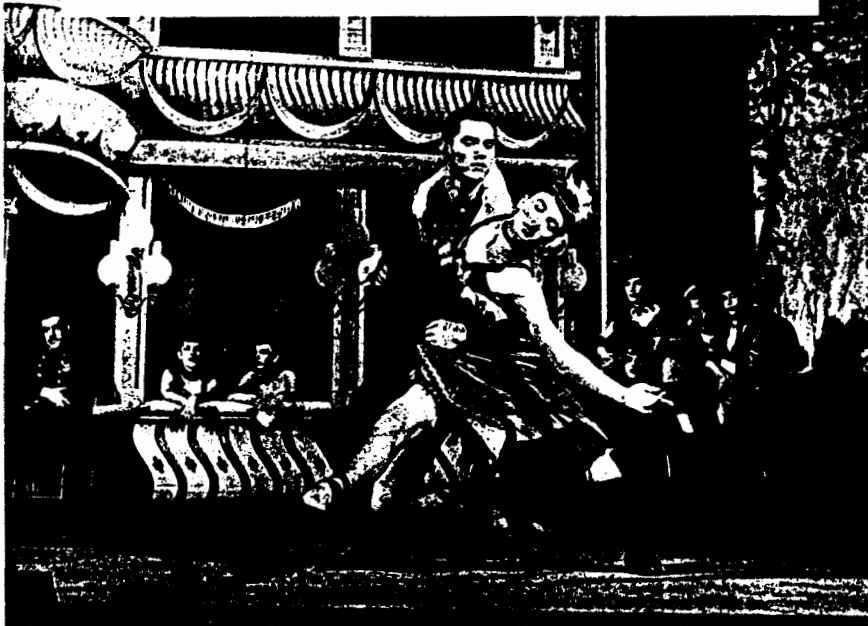
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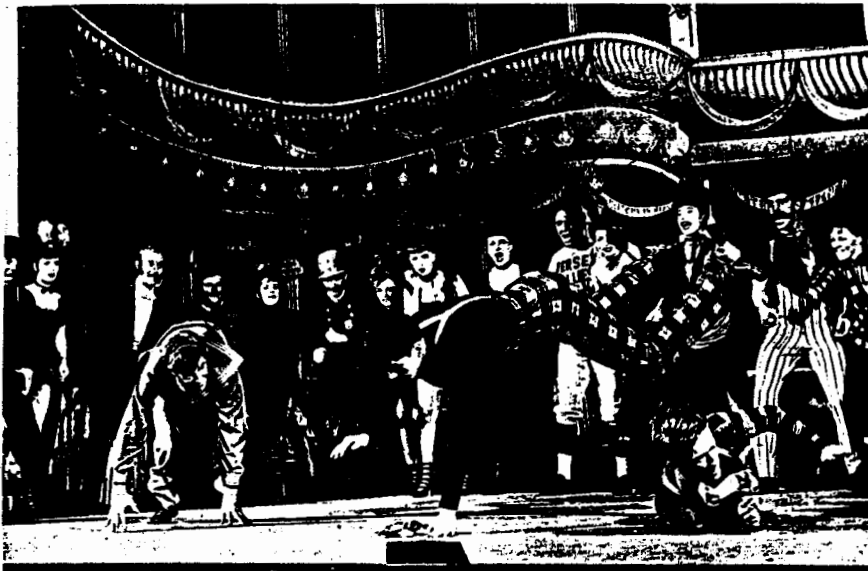
'Miss Liberty'

Time: 1885. Place: New York City. Enter Miss Liberty, a pretty French girl who allegedly served as the model for the Statue of Liberty; who can dance and sing; who has been brought to America by Commodore Bennett of The New York Herald as a circulation stunt in his battle with Joseph Pulitzer of The

New York World. This is the highly improbable, and strictly fictitious, situation on which Irving Berlin and Robert E. Sherwood have built their new musical, "Miss Liberty." Directed by Moss Hart, it will come to New York the middle of next month. These pictures were taken during the current Philadelphia run.



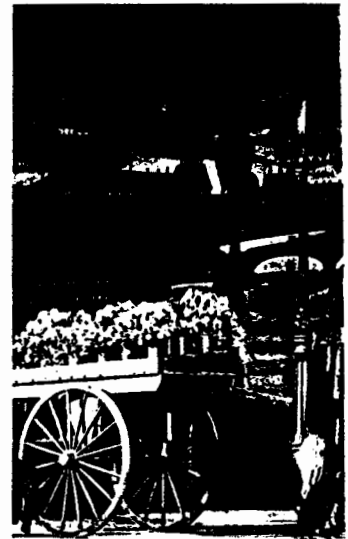
Allyn McLerie, who plays the role of Miss Liberty, dances at the Policemen's Ball.



The rowdy "follow-the-leader jig" at the Policemen's Ball becomes a battle royal set to music.



Maisie Dell (Mary McCarty), reporter, and her



Miss Liberty's aunt (Ethel Griffies), a Parisian florist.



(Eddie Albert), news photographer, sing a song of hope.



Miss Liberty "entrains" for a tour of the country, an occasion for one of the show's most imaginative dances.



lives under one of the city bridges, until she is dispossessed.

MAGAZINE, JUNE 26, 1949.



There is a wealth of dancing, staged by Jerome Robbins.



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What We Know About Cancer

(Continued from Page 14)
which is not astonishing when it is remembered that an embryo and a tumor are both new growths.

LAST March Dr. Charles B. Huggins of the University of Chicago, one of the most distinguished of American scientists who have devoted their professional lives to the study of malignant growths, published a paper in which he described what may be the long-hoped-for, reasonably simple serum test, serum being the clear liquid that separates from clotting blood. It has been known for twenty years that normal serum and the serum of a sufferer from cancer differ in their albumin. Albumin, most familiar as white of egg, coagulates when heated. Huggins pulled together all that was known about the relation of albumin to cancer, added information that he and his colleagues had gathered at a cost of \$160,000 and came forth with a synthesis which is a brilliant contribution of its kind to the early detection of cancer.

The serum albumin of a healthy person coagulates more readily than that of a sufferer from cancer. Positive results do not appear in pregnancy, but they do appear in tuberculosis and massive infections. Such false positives can be ruled out one by one, leaving only the dread, inescapable diagnosis of cancer. There is as yet no specific chemical test for cancer. All the tests so far devised are only indicators of abnormality. All this being so, the impatient practical man reasons that every disease has its cause and that when this has been found a scientific treatment usually follows. Why not concentrate on the cause of cancer?

THE question is meaningless because there is no one cause of cancer, as there is of smallpox, infantile paralysis, typhoid, typhus or any infectious disease. Moreover, cancers differ. The ultraviolet

rays of the sun, X-rays, irritations, hormones, arsenic, nickel carbonyl, chromium, cobalt, mesothorium, extracts of diseased tissues, asbestos, a few viruses, mineral oil, pitch, tar, soot, creosote, parasitic worms, smoking, heat—all these can incite cancer. So can any one of about 300 chemicals derived from coal-tar and oil, many of them synthetics with no counterpart in nature. How, then, can we talk of "the cause of cancer"?

Scientists are trying to find out what happens when a normal cell changes into a cancer cell and why the changed cell remains malignant. There are many ways in which the problem is approached in the laboratory, but these four have the strongest experimental evidence in their favor: (1) Cancer is a virus disease; (2) excessive stimulation by sex hormones starts cancers in the male prostate and the female breast; (3) some chemicals can temporarily arrest cancers; (4) normal and cancer cells differ in the way they utilize sugar.

THE VIRUS APPROACH

A FEW specialists in cancer research now maintain that it is right to talk about the cause of cancer and that the cause is a virus, just as the cause of influenza or measles is a virus.

Better in the virus theory started in 1911 when Dr. Peyton Rous of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research passed the juice of mashed chicken tumors through a filter so fine that even a microscopic microbe was held back. He injected the filtrate into healthy chickens. Always a tumor grew where the needle had entered. Since then it has been established that warty growths on the ears of some wild rabbits are caused by a virus and that these growths turn into cancers when transplanted to domestic rabbits.

The discovery that did more than any other to strengthen the virus theory was one made in 1935 by Dr. J. J. Bittner, then on the staff of the Roscoe B. Jackson Memorial Laboratory.

(Continued on Following Page)

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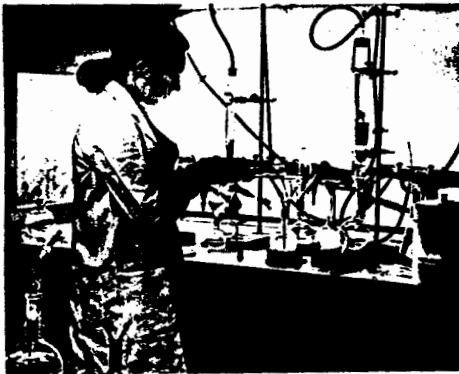
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Be discreet, and only mingle
With the obviously single;
Men are a deceptive lot:
Summer bachelors—some are not.
—NORMAN R. JAFFRAY.



A laboratory at the Sloan-Kettering Institute for Cancer Research.

(Continued from Preceding Page) moria Laboratory, Bar Harbor, Me., and now of the University of Minnesota's faculty. He experimented with inbred mice, so that he knew exactly what physical defects and diseases were inherited and what diseases could be attributed to outside influence. Genealogically, his mice were aristocrats with lineages going back for a hundred mouse-generations and more.

In some of these inbred strains of mice cancer of the breast appeared spontaneously in 90 per cent and more of the females; in other equally pure inbred strains breast cancer appeared in only 1 or 2 per cent. Bittner transferred the young immediately after birth from the mother of a cancerous stock to foster mothers of a virtually cancer-free stock. The number of expected cases of breast cancers dropped to almost nothing.

NEXT Bittner transferred the newborn young of cancer-free mouse mothers to foster mothers that were bound to generate cancer of the breast. Many more than the expected number of breast cancers developed. If the mouse mother of cancerous stock suckled her young for only an hour or so, cancer of the breast appeared in nearly all when middle or old age was reached. On the other hand, a whole strain of mice could be saved by feeding it on pasteurized mouse-milk or transferring it at birth to cancer-free foster mothers. Evidently there was an agent in the milk of some strains of inbred mouse mothers that incited cancer of the breast.

What is this inciter? Because it has been seen in the electron microscope, because it has been inactivated by pasteurization, because it has been found in whole-blood, in the spleen, in the thymus gland, in the liver and in the brain, because it can be neutralized in the culture tube with an immune serum, and, above all, because it increased prodigiously in mice to which it has been transferred it is generally regarded as a virus.

Is cancer of the human breast caused by such a virus? There is no statistical reason

to think so as yet. Nor is there any evidence that dairy milk, on which millions of babies have been fed, contains a virus.

Ask a geneticist—that is, a student of heredity—whether cancer runs in families, and he will deny it. What, then, is inherited? A susceptibility, he answers, a favorable soil. But what becomes of "susceptibility" when even the future generations of an inbred stock of mice in which cancer of the breast is transmitted "vertically," to use a term invented by Dr. Ludwik Gross, can be protected by the simple expedient of feeding them on virus-free milk? Whether the stock is inbred or not, a virus-laden milk will infect it.

Are all cancers caused by a virus, no matter of what type they may be? Are there as many cancer viruses as there are cancer types? The skeptics in cancer circles balk at this extension of the virus theory. Almost every virus goes to work as soon as it enters the animal or human organism. But not the milk virus, or other cancer viruses, if there are such. It must be assumed that all remain latent for thirty or forty years. It must also be assumed that all plants and animals, man included, are born with some kind of cancer virus in them, and that the virus springs into action when the right conditions are created.

THE HORMONE APPROACH

IT was long suspected that there was a relation between some cancers and sex organs. When the sex hormones were discovered and isolated it was possible to experiment. Sure enough, the relationship was there. Dr. Huggins followed up the clue with dramatic results. After careful experimenting with animals he found that when castration cut off the supply of male hormone, cancer of the prostate in men was checked and pain relieved, sometimes rapidly and miraculously, even though it had spread to other parts. Cancers even disappeared entirely for a time in a few fortunates. Spaying of females had a tran-

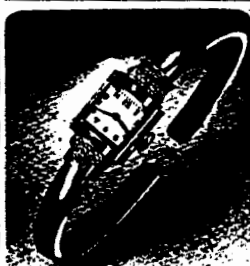
(Continued on Page 27)



FAIR ENOUGH

As the man who reads the barometer might say: "The weather always changes, but a Dutch Masters remains the same fine cigar I've always enjoyed." Fair enough!

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What We Know About Cancer

(Continued from Page 25)

sistent beneficial effect in about 15 per cent of breast cancers.

Giving extracts of female sex hormones combats the male sex hormone that stimulates malignant growth in male prostates and so produces much the same result as castration. Later, it was found that breast cancers in women stop growing for months and even shrink when male sex hormones are given. Not only this, but the spreading of cancer to the bone is slowed down and damage to the bone is repaired. One-fifth of the first group of men who were treated for cancer of the prostate in accordance with Huggins' method were alive seven and a half years later. The record for cancer of the breast is not so striking. The hormone treatment of cancer of the prostate and of the breast is now officially approved, so that it stands on as firm a footing as treatment by X-rays and radium.

This is no high praise; for X-rays and radium have thus far disposed only of skin cancers. But the use of sex hormones to check some forms of cancer, if only for months or a few years, is a milestone in medical progress. For the first time it becomes possible to cause some tumors to shrivel merely by taking pills or receiving injections. Thus with Huggins begins the chemical and hence the medical treatment of cancer. Some credit must also be given to the late Dr. W. B. Coley who used a toxin made from bacterial products. He checked the development of bone cancers temporarily with his preparations.

THE CHEMICAL APPROACH

DURING the recent war it was discovered that a score of chemicals have striking temporary effects on various types of cancers. Nearly all these chemicals are deadly poisons—a handicap that may be overcome so that larger and probably more effective doses can be given without toxic results.

Most important are the nitrogen mustards, which are related to the mustard gas of evil military reputation and which are at least as effective as the X-rays in prolonging the life of sufferers from leukemia (in which white blood cells multiply so abundantly that they invade important organs). Then there are urethane, also a palliative in leukemia; the sugary chemicals produced by some germs; three antibiotics, the generic name of chemicals which, like penicillin and streptomycin, are extracted from mold-like organisms in the soil; aminopterin, an antagonist of folic acid, which is one of the B-complex of vitamins; podophyllin, obtained from mandrake root; colchicine, extracted from the autumn crocus and used for centuries as a remedy for gout; Fowler's

solution or potassium arsenite.

What of the radioactive isotopes, now obtainable at low cost from Oak Ridge? As yet they have cured nothing. So far radioactive iodine is the only one that has a pronounced selective action; it goes straight to the thyroid gland in the neck, sometimes with remarkable temporary benefit. Radioactive arsenic shows promise in the treatment of leukemia, and radioactive phosphorus also does some temporary good in one type of leukemia. The radio-



Dr. John J. Bittner.

active isotopes are no better and no worse than the drugs that have been used.

THE STUDY OF GROWTH

ALL the work so far described does not touch fundamentals. Every cancer originates in a normal cell, which goes wild. What keeps a normal cell normal? This is the profoundest of all questions that research must answer. A tumor is a useless, shapeless mass that penetrates tissues and organs; an arm or a leg is a shapely and useful member. Normal cells multiply by self-division and grow into hearts, livers, lungs, skins, eyes in the right locations and stop growing when organs and tissues are of the right size.

Cancer cells do not specialize in this way. No longer subject to restraint they multiply with frightening rapidity and take possession of the tissue or organ where they grow. The end is death. Often a few of these unruly cells find their way into the bloodstream to lodge in distant parts of the body, there to start new malignant growths—a process technically called metastasis, "meta" meaning "later" and "stasis" meaning "place" or "stand."

It is plain enough that the problem of cancer is the problem of growth, normal and abnormal, and it is for this reason that the National Research Council has appointed a Committee on Growth which passes on all research projects submitted by the American Cancer Society.

The problem of growth has many aspects. So far only a few have been studied. Drs. Warburg and Meyerhoff have focused on enzymes, which are substances that bring about chemical reactions in the body yet themselves remain intact. Without enzymes, the fermentation of beer and wine would be impossible. Without the enzyme familiar to us as pepsin, we could not digest a piece of meat.

IT turns out that there is indeed a difference in the chemical mode of life of normal and cancer cells—a difference in enzymes. Both types of cells ferment and thus utilize sugar. With the aid of enzymes the normal cell breaks the sugar down into lactic acid, the substance that gives sour milk its taste. Then follows a second stage in which lactic acid is further broken down into carbon dioxide, the gas that bubbles in ginger ale and beer and that we exhale when we breathe. A normal cell needs oxygen to burn up sugar completely and leave only carbon dioxide. But the cancer cell keeps on breaking down sugar into lactic acid and never reaches the second stage in which oxygen is necessary. A tumor can grow just by spitting lactic acid into sugar without oxygen, but normal tissue dies if it is deprived of oxygen.

All this means that normal cells ferment much as beer does in the brewer's vat or hard cider in a farmer's barrel in the process of changing sugar into alcohol. Cancer cells also ferment, but not in the normal way.

Warburg found out that no fewer than eleven enzymes working in relays are required to ferment sugar into lactic acid, enzyme A preparing the way for enzyme B, B for C and so on. Suppose the chain were broken. If only one enzyme could be inactivated a tumor would stop feeding on sugar and die of starvation. Here we have what may well be the best of all clues to the conquest of cancer.

IT may be that somebody will stumble in the darkness of his ignorance on a discovery that will rob cancer of its terror, but it is more likely that such a success will be scored when the fundamental problem of growth is more systematically attacked than it has been and when groups of scientists representing different disciplines are organized for the attack. It was thus that we developed an atomic bomb and thus that scientists in industrial laboratories gave us metal-filament lamps, television, synthetic rubber. It is thus that planes that will fly faster than sound are being developed. Let no one answer that it is easier to produce inventions than to evolve and prove theories of growth. Theories are also inventions.



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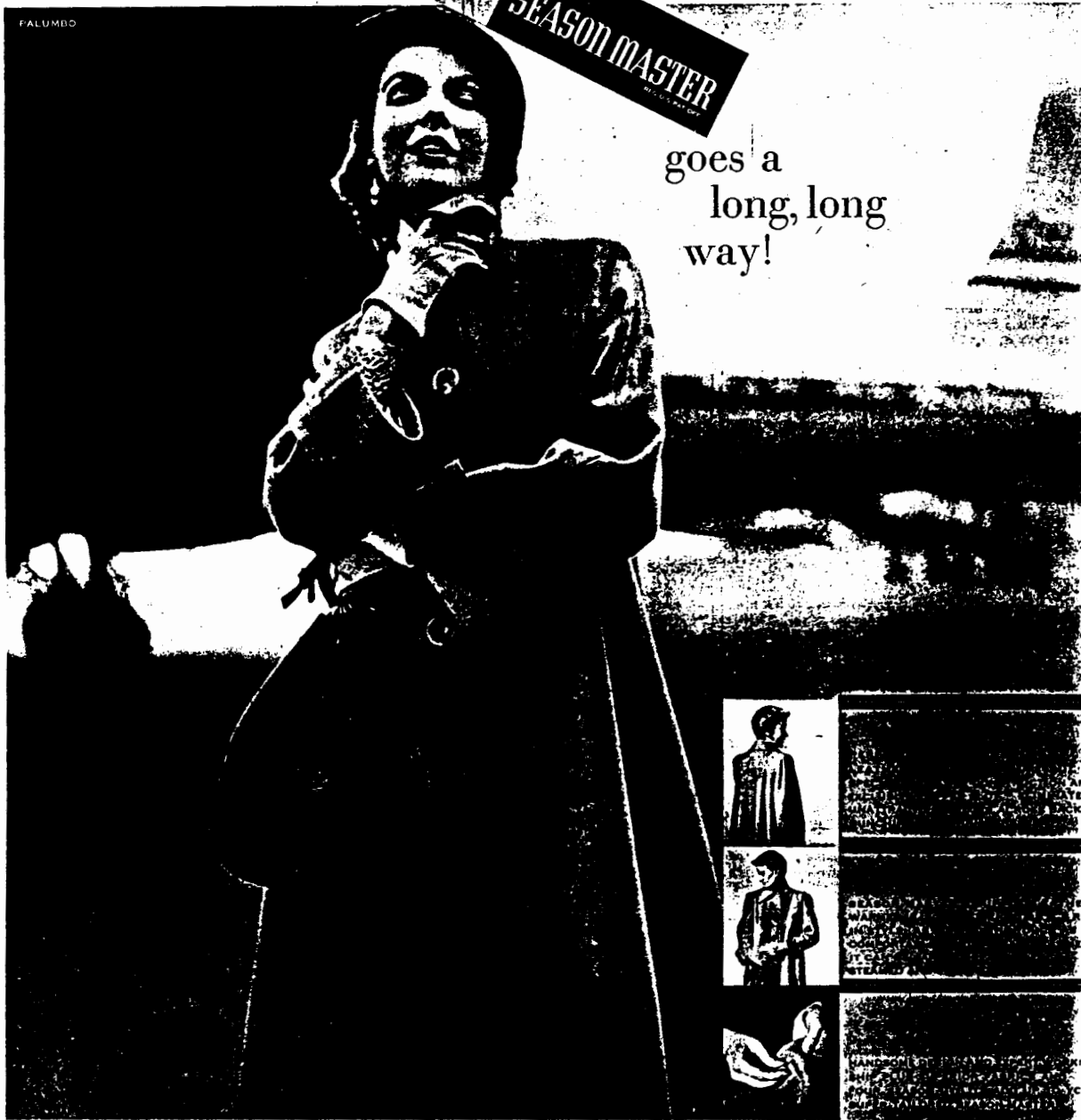
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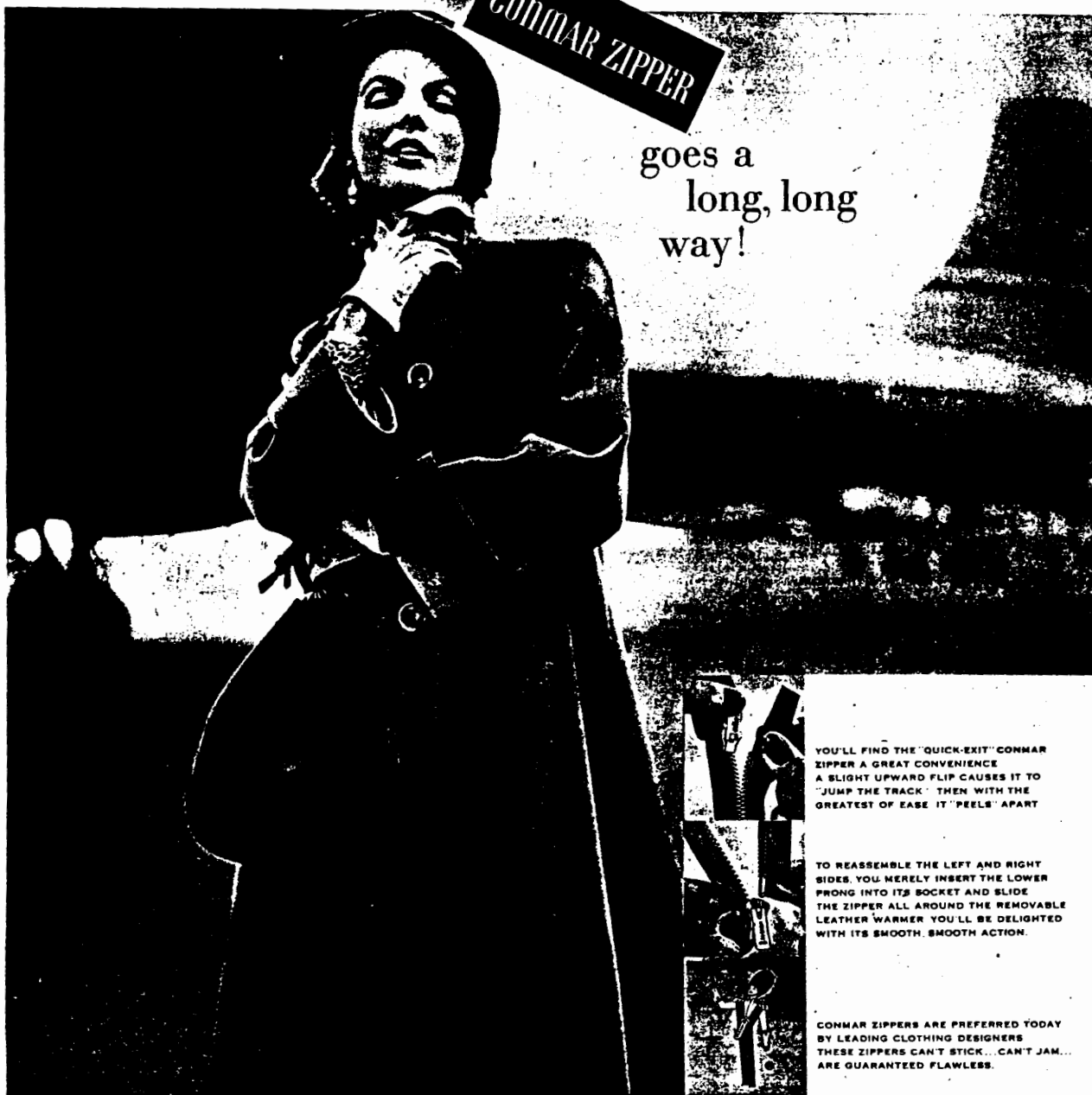
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PARENT AND CHILD

Attention Must Be Paid to Parents, Too

By CATHERINE MACKENZIE

MANY boys and girls worry about their marks, striving to get "A's" in everything; many of their parents say that they honestly don't care about high marks, are perfectly satisfied if their child passes. Where does this perfectionist drive come from? They want to know.

When fathers and mothers ask this of Dr. Alexander Reid Martin, a psychiatrist who specializes in parental guidance, he asks in turn, "Do you have much fun yourselves?" By this he means taking time out for their own enjoyment, independently of the children. And the answer is "No"—usually because the father works fourteen to sixteen hours a day, while the mother is burdened by household and family duties. "We don't have much time for ourselves," they say, adding that they certainly don't want their children to be tied down the way they are.

Dr. Martin does not know how general this situation is around the country, but in our metropolitan area he finds a great many parents making excessive demands upon themselves; that this introduces a kind of bargaining with children and puts implicit claims upon them. This is especially damaging both because parents don't know they are doing it, and because parental overwork is not seen as putting terrific claims on a child but is glorified as a virtue. (The idea is, "I'll do anything for the kids.")

YET, Dr. Martin points out, it is no use at all for a father to tell his children to "take things easy" while he sets them an example of overwork.

Of course, parents make explicit demands, too, and that is another story. Examples of these are reminders that daddy is working so hard to send the children to a good school, or that mother is working her fingers to the bone to give them a nice home. Dr. Martin does not consider these to be good or healthy, but, bad as is the explicit demand, at least it is out in the open, and a child knows what it means.

A certain amount of open "bargaining" also goes on, and when most people use the term, this is the kind they mean. (If you do your homework, I'll take you to the circus.) Dr. Martin has a low opinion of this, too. Incidentally, he thinks that, as a result, too many young

people feel that to get anything they must give value received, and look on every enterprise as having a condition attached.

A derivation of all this demanding and bargaining, of claims and counterclaims is seen in areas served by the Children's Aid Society, where Dr. Martin is consulting psychiatrist. He tells us that children so involved are extremely sensitive to being "exploited," and have poor

him with claims that he can feel but not understand and from which he longs to be free. When he hears of boys and girls who keep their noses to the grindstone while parents—carrying a heavy load—wish that the youngsters wouldn't work so hard, he urges that fathers and mothers ease up a little on their own pressure.

We talk of letting children be independent of us, he says, but children should also



ability to give freely of themselves. Children who do "give" are treated with contempt as "just a bunch of suckers."

BUT bargaining also goes underground. The most loving parents, having the best intentions, write to a child at school, "If you do well at mathematics, we'll have a happy vacation." One has only to think for a moment, says Dr. Martin, to grasp the responsibility one puts on a child by telling him that his success or failure can affect the mood of the whole household, and saying, in effect, "If you do well, everybody is going to be happy." (Obviously, the reverse of this is, "If you don't do well, everybody will be wretched and it will be all your fault.")

In a great many subtle ways, we put these heavy implicit demands on children, Dr. Martin told us. They confuse a child, and bewilder

thrown on the importance, for children, of parents enjoying themselves. "This frees children," he says, "and is really good for children."

Notes

A RECENT column about fathers brought us some comment we'd missed, published by the Connecticut Society for Mental Hygiene. Asked what the untrained person can do to promote good mental health, Frances Hartshorne, executive secretary, began to think of the scores of people she knows—young mothers, grandmothers, teachers, librarians, plant foremen—who make their influence felt. Briefly jotting down some of the things they do, she conveys vivid little pictures of human relationships, such as this one: "I thought of the college professor, noted in his field, who at the moment is even more noted for his charming children, and his saying that the most important contribution a father can make to his children is to keep their mother happy!"

VARYING points of view on summer vacations held by parents were rounded up recently by Mildred Marsh for the Parents League of New York. Mrs. Marsh tells of one mother, who said that she refused to send her children to camp "because she liked to have them around her and to see more of them than she found possible during the busy winter months."

A FOOTNOTE on cross-country motoring with young children comes from a Massachusetts reader, who tells us that a friend driving East from Nebraska last summer, "always stopped for a leisurely picnic lunch in a school yard or playground where there were swings, slides, wading pools, jungle gyms, etc." She started at 5 A. M., stopped at 8 for breakfast, spent 11:30 to 1 picnicking, and stopped for the night at 4. The children got to sleep early and were able to play a good deal." Signed only by initials, we've been unable to thank the writer for this, or for her postscript: "Another friend on a shorter trip took a pair of white mice in a cage. Hard on them; but the children loved it!" Reminds us that we were once custodian of a tin pail of goldfish during a four-day train trip, and that we had the rapt and practically full-time attention of every child in the car.

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THE NEW YORK



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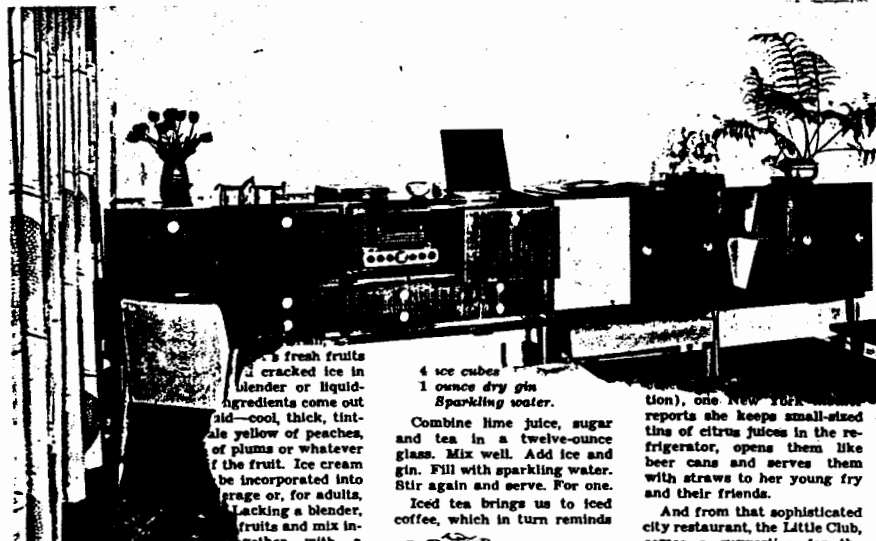
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HOME



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It's SMOOTHIE
with milk and peaches, plums, melon, etc.

THE interior design of the penthouse bachelor would not, off hand, be expected to provide a host of ideas for the harassed middle-income mother of three. Not, at least, if you take it literally. But if the expensive materials and the one-of-a-kind custom designs are divorced from the basic furnishing ideas, the elegant interior takes on a more feasible aspect.

One of the most interesting object-lessons in this bachelor apartment design by Felix Augenfied is the arrangement of the living room. A twenty-one-foot-long affair, with windows strung along one side, it has been made considerably chummier by placing long storage pieces at both ends and consolidating all the



One storage piece to wall while record player reserved for is a well-kept a fine working a dining room small one arranged particularly restricted. I an extra sitting

tion, one New York reports she keeps small-sized tins of citrus juices in the refrigerator, opens them like beer cans and serves them with straws to her young fry and their friends.

And from that sophisticated city restaurant, the Little Club, comes a suggestion for the same age group—a glass filled one-third with orange juice, one-third with grapefruit juice and finished off with a generous dash or two of grenadine (for color), ice and sparkling water. For children—and parents, too—the club offers an exceedingly good Reed Reviver (named after host Billy Reed), which is half grapefruit juice and half ginger beer. Those of drinking age will like a jigger of rum in this.

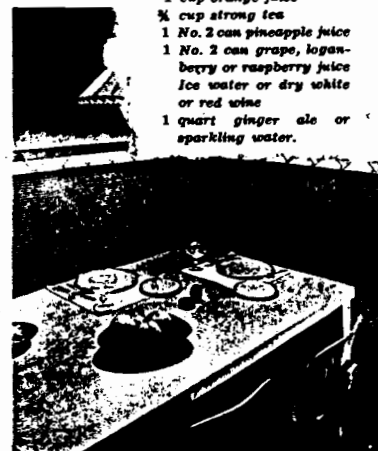
Fruit juices go into this bowl, too, which may be spiked or not, as desired:

FRUIT PUNCH

- 1 1/2 cups sugar
- 1 cup water
- 1/2 cup fresh crushed mint leaves (optional)
- 1/2 cup lemon juice
- 1 cup orange juice
- 1/2 cup strong tea
- 1 No. 2 can pineapple juice
- 1 No. 2 can grape, loganberry or raspberry juice
- Ice water or dry white or red wine
- 1 quart ginger ale or sparkling water.



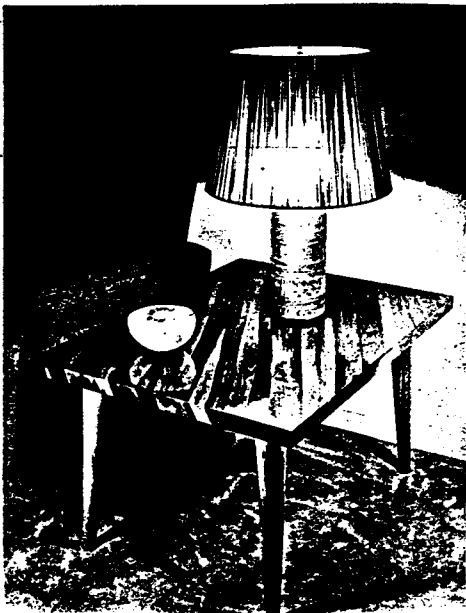
In the small, informal dining room, George Nelson's lacquered front cabinet and chest unit set on a slat-top bench serves nicely as a buffet.



Foam rubber pads hung on the wall make comfortable back benches. In another home, this corner might double for a



Working bar at other end of living room has mahogany frame, travertine top and splash back, and doors of perforated aluminum or leather.



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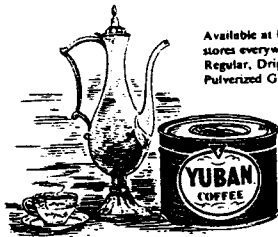
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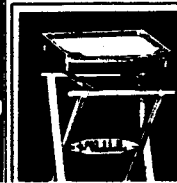
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Pocket Additions

By VIRGINIA POPE

The popularity of pockets threatens to reach fever pitch. They are everywhere, even evening gowns are not exempt. You'll find them on the bodice, placed high under the shoulders, on the skirt, concealed or conspicuous. They are large and they are small, they are slit or deeply cuffed. On jackets they may run well around toward the back of the hip, or even be placed frankly at the back. Some are a matter of convenience, others purely of design. A few designers are content to place a single pocket on a skirt, letting it form part of the scheme of the drapery. It is the custom of models when showing this season to enter the room hands thrust deep into their pockets, giving their skirts an amusing forward swing.

Below—Flanking the plunging neckline are diagonal pockets. This floor-length evening gown is of bright green satin (Stunzi, Enka rayon). By Sara Ripault (Sam Friendlander). About \$60. Will be at Lord & Taylor at a later date.

Right—In the Dior manner are the high-placed cuffed pockets on the jacket. The pointed collar and cuffs on the three-quarters sleeves add to the flare. This suit is of black faille (Varney). By International. About \$25. At Russells.



Left—A pocket at the right of the skirt is part of the asymmetrical line of this cocoa crepe (Schlanger Fabrics). Buttons accent the diagonal line. By Jerry Farnis. About \$30. At Peck & Peck after Aug. 15. Mme. Pauline hat.

The dinner suit too has its pocket interest, simulated in this case by deep pleated folds. A navy satin (Hafner) two-piece with jet embroidered revers framing the wide décolletage. By Hannah Troy. About \$90. From De Pinna.



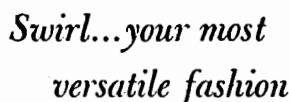


Concealed pockets make this dress smart. They are placed under the overskirt, which opens at the front. A tassel tie finishes the round collar. Shown black Hockanum wool. By Bruno. About \$115. From Hattie Carnegie.

Right—Pockets on the skirt are accented by a band which crosses at the front and forms the belt. Imported faille combining royal and black in iridescent effect. By Mollie Parnis. About \$90. At Lord & Taylor at a later date.

Two style features, the panel and the pocket, are of note in this dress of chestnut brown crepe (Onondaga). The skirt has a moderate side drape. By Adele Simpson. About \$60. At Bloomingdale's. Hat by John-Frederics.

Jewelry courtesy of Michael Perl and the Piznik Art Shop, gloves Klier and Meyers Make



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(Continued from Page 10)
the whole inhabited earth now
celebrates the two-hundredth
anniversary of his epiphany.

(Continued from Page 10)

the whole inhabited earth now celebrates the two-hundredth anniversary of his epiphany.

I am using this word which designates the appearance, the advent, the descent, of a god upon this earth, because there was something divine about him, about the ironic tenderness, the cool and majestic kindness of his all-encompassing nature: There was something demonic, too, about his dark impenetrableness, his elfic multiplicity, his vital magnetism, about the life forces which nourished his spirit and which, all his life, must have emanated from his personality—that prodigious personality which edified and humiliated and compelled spellbound submission.

IN his "Iphigenie," a work of the noblest humanity and of such beauty of form that it brings tears to the eyes of anyone who is responsive to art, he says:

Denn es erzeugt nicht gleich
Ein Haus den Halbgott, noch
das Ungeheuer,
Erst eine Reihe Böser oder
Guter

Bringt endlich das Entsetzen,
bringt die Freude der Welt
heraus.

"For a house does not at once produce a demigod or a monster; only a line of evil or good men finally produces the horror, the joy of the world."

By the demigod and the monster he means the creature that is not human. Unlitting there is one thought, he takes the one for the other, knowing that there is no joy without horror, that the demigod must bear the monster within him. About Goethe, the towering giant, there is also something monstrous, or at least uncanny, an atmosphere of icy solitude that is both tolerant and contemptuous of almost all things. The mere mortal approached him with quaking knee. And he had better speak to him simply and clearly, for of the master on high, the master of the house of the Frauentaler in Weimar, this was the condescending command: "If I am to listen to someone else's opinion it must be couched in positive terms; I am myself problematic enough."

LET us strive, on this festive occasion, for the truth and try to see in its light the exalted man we are celebrating. Above all, let us not descend to the popular oversimplification that would differentiate between a "bad" and a "good" Germany (i. e., tame, peaceful, democratic) and make him, by use of propaganda, the representative of the "good" Germany. German greatness has as much goodness as greatness can ever have, but in it the

"bad" Germany, too, is always present.

In order to see the man we are honoring today in a true light we must see him, I believe, as a genuine and legitimate brother of Luther and Bismarck, a manifestation of German forcefulness, but in its most sublime, restrained and profoundly humanized modification—the titan molded on Olympus.

Goethe—this now defunct name long held by men of little consequence, this creature which bore some though not individual a palladium of humanity, this name for wholeness, realization, of knowledge, art, civilization, culture, this remarkable name is in itself a symbol and cypher that confirms my point of view. What is Nordic, Gothic in it (for it must come from the Goth ic), what is therefore barbaric in it, is poetically purified by the flute-like sound of the unlearned. To purify, clarify and to mold, in fact, is the task, the imperative of Goethe's life, a life that has often been called a great work of art and could better be called a great tour de force. That he himself was aware of this is proved by a couplet that he might well have chosen for his epitaph:

Wohl kamst du durch, so ging
es allenfalls—
Mach's einer nach und breche
nicht den Hals!

"So you've come through; at least you got along—Let any man follow suit and not break his neck!"

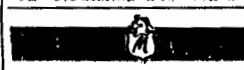
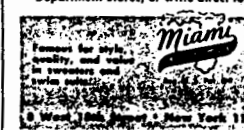
THE harmony, balance and classicism that we associate with Goethe's name were not qualities that fell into his lap. They represent a mighty achievement, the product of forces in his character which conquered dangerous, possibly destructive, tendencies, transfiguring, transforming and coercing them into the service of Good and of Life. Yet, owing to the opposing tensions that sustained this great existence, to the wealth of contrasts and contradictions which form the source of its creative power, there remained in Goethe's life many dark and demonic, inhuman and superhuman elements that chill and frighten the mere humanitarian.

There is that all-too-masculine and belligerent skepticism described by Nietzsche as the characteristic quality of German greatness, a hard-yearn evil-skepticism that understands all things and despises all things, allows the mind a perilous freedom, and is utterly remote from sentimentality alone. sentimentality. Michelet called this mind "ironical, fatalistic, ephephistophilan," proving thereby that he meant not only Frederick the Great and Bismarck but also Goethe, the genius who begot the willful, most despising of devils in the literature.



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THE NEW YORK TIMES

(Continued from Preceding Page)
ture of the world, the diabolical incarnation of everything negative.

To those who knew him Goethe often seemed like Mephistopheles. His profound nihilism struck them as uncanny. What baffled his contemporaries was an element of the problematic, or negation, of far-reaching doubt which often led him to make statements that contained their own contradictions. They speak of a frightening indifference, an incredible neutrality, and Schiller's wife, Charlotte, summed up her feelings of moral alarm in these words: "He has his heart set on nothing."

But this "nothing" is another name for "everything," for the embrace that includes everything human, for the immense seat for life of a Proteus who assumes all guises, who longs to know everything, understand everything, be everything. It is another name for a supreme infidelity that finds pleasure in leaving disciples in the lurch, in embarrassing the partisans of any one principle by perfecting both it and its precise opposite—something skin to world dominance under the cloak of irony, a gay betrayal of one side to the other.

HERE everything and nothing are one, as Mephistopheles and Faust are one in the person of their creator, who makes them conclude their pact in terms of a total surrender to life which transforms the diabolical into the universally human.

*Mein Busen, der von Wonnendrang gehellt ist,
Soll keinen Schmerzen kuenftig sich erschliessen,
Und was der ganzen Menschheit zugeht ist,
Will ich mit meinem innern Selbst geniessen,
Mit meinem Geist das Hoehste und Tiefste greifen,
Ihr Wohl und Weh auf meinen Busen haefen
Und so mein eigen Selbst zu ihrem Selbst eroectern.*

"My bosom, that is cured of thirst for learning, shall henceforth close itself against no pain, and what is the lot of all mankind I will enjoy in my inmost being, since with my spirit what is highest and most deep, heap their weal and woe upon my bosom and thus expand this self of mine to all their selves."

Is this a pact with the devil? A confession of nihilism? No. It is the supreme acceptance of life, the loftiest aspiration toward becoming the model of mankind by being as willing to make sacrifices as to accept them. It is the acme of humanism.

THIS acceptance of life is too lofty, too great, not to ignore the merely "good" and peaceful, the meekly democratic. Only a eulogist could overlook or deny the fact that Goethe was as much an anti-ideologist as Bismarck, an aristocrat in his conception of

culture, politically, as often as not, an ardent Tory.

Let us be frank, even on this anniversary. He was opposed to the freedom of the press, to giving the masses a voice, to democracy and a constitution. Convinced that "wisdom was the sole property of the minority," he sided openly with the Prime Minister, who autocratically carried out plans in defiance of king and country. Though he could feel deep affection for the individual human face, the sight of which, he confessed, could cure him of melancholy, he had little or no humanitarian faith in mankind, neither in its revolutionary purges nor in its progress.

THERE was nothing in him of the pacifist. On the contrary, he had a well-developed sense for power, for battle. "Till one affirm the other's superior strength."

He is far too wise, of course, not to know that "War is in truth a disease in which the humors meant to maintain health are diverted to sustain alien and unnatural forces." But he doubts to the point of disbelief man's ability to learn reason and justice. There will be no end to vacillation, no end to conflict and bloodshed. Personally, he confesses that "it depresses him to be on good terms with everyone," and that he "needs anger." Although this is hardly Christian love of peace, it is Lutheran—and Bismarckian, too.

Thanks to the splendid clarity of his genius he has been called "the German Voltaire"—not erroneously, although the qualifying adjective is important. He has also been compared with Erasmus, and rightly, for Goethe's hostile attitude toward the French Revolution—despite the fact that his "Werther" paved its way—is strikingly similar to the attitude of Erasmus toward the Reformation.

BUT this comparison, if carried any further, would turn out in favor of the author of the delightful irony in "In Praise of Folly." Just as Erasmus' literary subtlety, his eloquent but thin-voiced intellectuality pale before the massive force of Luther's soul, so they also pale when confronted with Goethe's cultivated nature; for Goethe was both Erasmus and Luther, a blending of the urbane and the demonic, a union whose captivating greatness has not been repeated in the history of civilization. In Goethe we find the intrinsic German and the Mediterranean European forming a complete and harmonious synthesis, a combination fundamentally the same as that of genius and reason, mystery and clarity, lyricism and psychology, poet and man of letters. It is a miracle!

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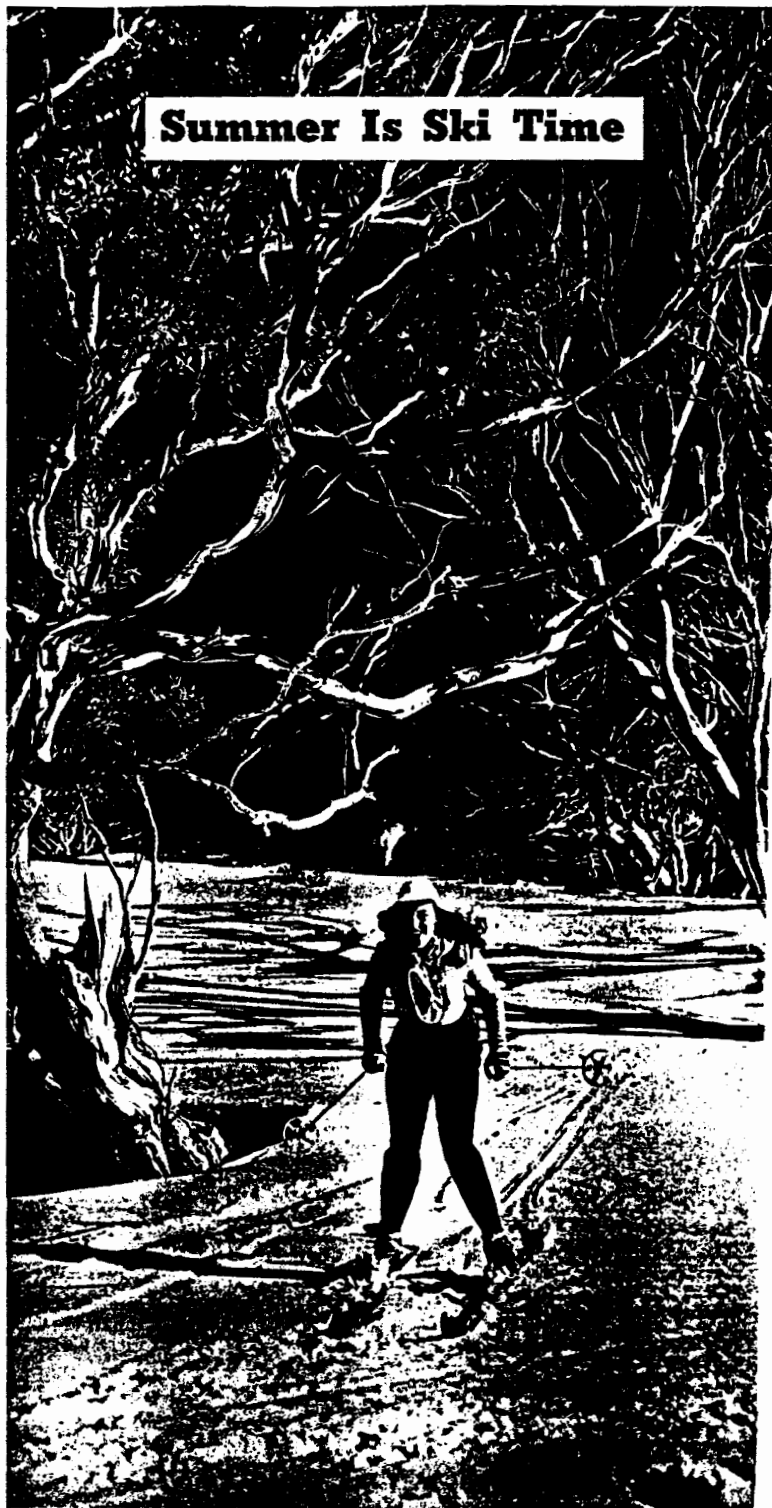
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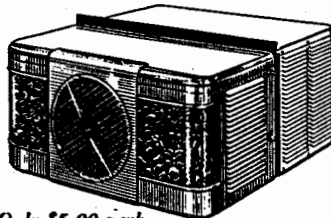
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The Tenth Man on the Team

(Continued from Page 19)
 cher continues. "He's failing you every day over there. It's like being in the hospital with your leg amputated and someone comes in and says, 'How are you?' You say, 'All right.' You don't know your leg is off, you're still under the anesthetic. That's what's happening at second base: your leg is off there and you don't know it."

"GLUE" in the managerial lexicon is "the guy who helps keep the team together." On the field and off, Durocher says, Eddie Stanky of the Braves is glue. "He's a great team player. He's thinking ways to beat you all day long."

Every manager knows what precious stuff glue is; and if he's glue himself, that's so much to the good. When Durocher, transformed into "Lappy" Leo, bellows angrily into an umpire's face, he isn't just putting on a show for the crowd; he's being glue. "If a player jumps up, I jump up," Durocher says. "It makes him feel his skipper is behind him, fighting for him." He's also being a tactician and something of a psychologist. "If the decision against me is on a bang-bang play (two rapid-fire raps on the table illustrate the closeness of the play) and I squawk loud enough, maybe we'll get the break on the next close one. One break and you can win a game."

Eddie Dyer, the dour and gentlemanly manager of the St. Louis Cardinals, makes himself glue by being intransigently impartial. When Enos Slaughter, Dyer's "boy" whom he had reared from his \$100-a-month minor league days, slumped, the manager benched him—for the first time in Slaughter's distinguished career. The act caused Dyer profound pain, but it did the team—and the player—immeasurable good. The players, who knew how much Slaughter meant to Dyer, learned that favoritism wasn't in their skipper's vocabulary.

ONCE a team has been developed to midseason form there is still the question of how to keep it that way. Among the managers there are two distinct schools of thought about this. Shotton states the case for one side. "The less I have to do with a team once it's set, the less I have to fuss with it—the better for the team," he says emphatically.

Durocher believes in fussing and isn't sure that a team ever is "set" or that he even wants it to be. He's maneuvering all the time.

"I'm never satisfied with my ball club," he says. "I always want to try something. First, you've got that twenty-five-player limit. You look

and look. Who are you going to let go? You just don't let go of a player at random. If you've got two infielders you try to keep the one who can play the most positions, the one you can get the most mileage out of. Then, when your team is set, you're still not set."

Relations between manager and players are crucial; if they are not "right," the results may be disastrous. Lou Boudreau, manager of the world champion Cleveland Indians, has given the formula, acceptable to most managers: "Friendly, yes; buddies, no," he says. Another manager sums up player-manager relations as "a cordial kind of

SYMPTOM

Managers have their own ways of looking at things. When the St. Louis Cardinals' Stan Musial, voted the most valuable player in the National League in 1948, got a base on balls during a game, Manager Eddie Dyer was elated. "Stan," he said to his great dugger, "I'm happier that you got that walk than if you'd hit a home run." Mr. Dyer explained: "You see, Stan's been pressing too hard and getting a walk meant he was beginning to relax."

aloofness." This attitude is maintained both on and off the field.

It would be a fatal mistake for a manager to relax his authority when a star is involved. A superlative natural hitter like Ted Williams may dictate an exceptional strategy for Manager Joe McCarthy of the Boston Red Sox, but Williams must obey the strategy whatever it is. If McCarthy ordered Williams to "take" a pitch and the player hit instead, he would most likely be fined even if his hit won the game.

Selecting, settling and creating the team—all this a manager may have done masterfully only to have it all undone by accidents and the vagaries of talent. Whoever the manager, whether he be the wily Connie Mack of the Philadelphia Athletics or the Braves' gulleful Southworth, if his team is riddled by injuries or his bellwether pitcher has lost his touch, there is no magic he can invoke to undo the fact that he's up against it.

BUT it is on such bad days that a manager must show his stuff if his team isn't to go tumbling to the cellar of the league. It is then that he has to hold things together by sheer resource and improvisation. Play-by-play strategy on the field is the most severe test of the manager. With most of his infield half crippled

(Continued on Following Page)

THE NEW YORK TIMES

(Continued from Preceding Page)
pled and his star, Stan Mustel, in a severe slump, Eddie Dyer showed his mettle: his team is in contention once again.

Once a game gets under way, a manager is "in" it more deeply and continuously than any ball player. He has already gone over the list of opposing batters and dictated the essential strategy of pitching to each batter's known weakness. On the offensive, he makes every single decision: he orders the batter to "take," to hit, to bunt, to fake a bunt on the first pitch (in order to draw the infield in) and to hit away on the next. If he is a dugout manager like Shotton or Dyer he will relay signs to his coach by shifting his position, by putting one foot up on the step of the dug-out, or by fanning himself with his scorecard. In turn, the coach relays the sign to the batter.

THE coach's sign is usually "flesh to flesh," that is, clapping of the hands, hand on thigh, hand to head, etc. If the manager goes to the coaching box as Durocher does and Charlie Grimm of the Chicago Cubs did until his recent shift to the front office, the sign is made directly to the batter. The point is, of course, to construct a set of signs that your players get and the opposing players don't.

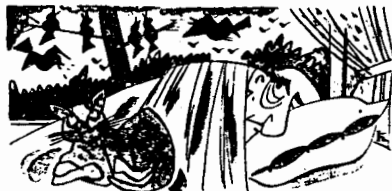
On defense, a manager shifts his fielders in relation to the opposition batter. In a tight spot he'll even dictate to his catcher the kinds of pitches to signal for on each batter. He watches for signs of weakness in his pitcher and makes the momentous decision

on when to take a pitcher out and whom to send in as relief. (For all of this activity, a manager is paid anywhere from \$30,000 to \$60,000 a year.)

Such situations and problems, recurring with tormenting regularity, keep a manager on the edge of his seat or on the move to the water-cooler and back.

IN a game a short time ago the Dodgers trailed the Cardinals by 3-2. In the top of the seventh Shotton removed his pitcher, Rex Barney, for a pinch-hitter. In the bottom of the seventh Shotton brought in his new Negro pitcher, Don Newcombe. Just what was involved in these apparently routine moves? Shotton had to try for the tying run. In the all-out effort he pulled Barney for a hitter—the percentage play. But two other factors had to be considered: (1) It was a tight game and Newcombe had never pitched in the major leagues before, and (2) it was in St. Louis, a city considered hostile to Negro players.

It happened that the Cardinals fell on big Newcombe and broke the game wide open. Had Shotton made the wrong moves? Had he made one right move technically (taking Barney out), and one wrong move psychologically (putting Newcombe in)? Who was responsible for the Dodger defeat that day? The pinch-hitter who didn't hit in the pinch? The relief pitcher who failed? It can—and will—be argued into the winter, but the final responsibility was Shotton's. A manager wins games. He also loses them.



Re: Persons Displaced

In summertime, it's nice to live beside a little greenery—
Or so I thought before I leased my clump of urban scenery;
For now I live allanthusly, beside a tree of heaven,
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The Real Danger—Fear of Ideas

(Continued from Page 1)

away your Greek and Latin books: histories of little peoples. Nor is our strength purely material or military. We are the oldest republic, the oldest federal system, the oldest democracy, in the world. Our nation, and our Constitution, has withstood the vicissitudes of 160 years. Our people are intelligent and they are moral.

NEVERTHELESS, we see evidences of anxiety and hysteria all around us—in the stir and bustle of federal and state un-American activities committees, in loyalty investigations, in the purging of schools and colleges, in witch-hunting and censorship, in our frenzy over such silly but innocuous things as the Cultural Conference at the Waldorf, in a hundred other manifestations, governmental and popular. This hysteria has certain marked characteristics.

First, this hysteria is concerned with rooting out subversives generally—a justifiable objective when revolutionary activity has gone underground or into labyrinthine ways. However, the hue and cry goes on without regard for the fact that the Department of Justice and the FBI, ceaselessly active in the enforcement of the forty-some laws against treason, espionage, and so on, have as yet adduced no evidence that traitors and spies and subversives have been able to work substantial harm to the nation.

Second, the current program is directed, clearly, toward subversives of the Left rather than of the Right, toward Communists and fellow-travelers or—as the House Committee on Un-American Activities once put it felicitously—against the "New Deal in various shades of communism." Thus, it is relevant to note that several teachers lost their jobs because of activities in behalf of Henry Wallace's Progressives, but none because of activity for the Dixiecrat organization. Yet it was the States Rights party that was openly engaged in activities designated by the Attorney General as subversive in its denial of rights under the Constitution.

THIRD, the drive is proceeding without any clear-cut idea of what it is aimed at. Notwithstanding a decade of intensive concern with disloyalty, subversive conduct, and un-American activity, we do not yet have definitions of any of these terms. The House committee has not defined them, nor has Congress or the Attorney General. It is easy to sympathize with this situation, for definition of these terms is all but impossible. But the Constitution is clear enough on treason, and so, too, are existing laws on espionage. Who, then, is to determine and

by what criteria just what is un-American or subversive?

Some efforts have been made, but they illustrate admirably, and alarmingly, the danger inherent in all such attempts. Thus J. Edgar Hoover listed among the "easy tests" to determine a Communist-front organization: "Does the organization have a consistent record of support of the American viewpoint 'over the years'?" But he does not tell us what the "American viewpoint" is, or who is to determine the consistency of record. Another of his tests: "Does the organization receive consistent favorable mention in Communist publications?" Clearly, all that is needed here is for The Daily Worker to give consistently favorable mention to the



Daughters of the American Revolution and the American Legion for these organizations to come under the ban.

Fourth, the campaign against "subversives," like all campaigns of its kind, here and abroad, has an inherent and inevitable tendency to spread out, and, in the end, to proscribute any ideas which the dominant forces in the community may not like.

HOW else explain the attack on the loyalty of Senator Graham of North Carolina in the Senate itself; the proposal of the Regents of the University of Nebraska to bar discussion that may "plant the seeds of subversion"; Louis Bromfield's argument that sale of colored oleomargarine will advance communism; Representative Brown's comment on the decision of the British court to free Gerhart Eisler:

"What gratitude. What a shining example of international cooperation! What a great demonstration of appreciation by the British Government of the sacrifices we have been making to aid the British people!"

In this statement the basic assumption is that justice is for sale.

What are the fears behind the present hysteria and the dangers created by each of these fears?

First is the fear of Communist infiltration into the Government. This fear has led to a vast and expensive series of investigations into "un-American" activities, plus

widely inclusive "loyalty" checks. The shabby antics practiced in the past by the House Committee on Un-American Activities are so familiar that they do not require rehearsal. President Truman attempted to provide the loyalty check with proper safeguards; what is most impressive about it is the paucity of returns so far. Out of 2,500,000 employees checked fewer than 10,000 required further investigation.

THE precise number dismissed for alleged disloyalty or subversive activities, or merely because they were "poor security risks"—whatever that phrase may mean—is almost impossible to determine. It is, apparently, well under 500, though it should be added that an additional 3,000 or so have resigned under investigation. Even more impressive is the fact that, so far as the public has been informed, none of all those investigated or dismissed has been formally charged with any crime against the United States.

The danger created by this first fear is in the techniques evolved to prevent Communist infiltration. The safeguards which Mr. Truman hoped to establish have proved completely inadequate. It is probably improper to lay responsibility for this at the door of Mr. Truman or of Attorney General Tom Clark; it is rather that disregard of elementary principles of fair play is implicit in any such program. Though we do not, to be sure, know the whole story or even much of it, we do know that the Attorney General was authorized to draw up his own list of "subversive" organizations; that organizations thus branded had no opportunity to have a hearing; that the mere creation of such a list introduced to our law the odious principle of guilt by association.

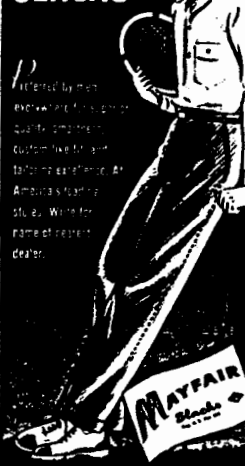
We know something of the kind of questions asked of employees suspected of disloyalty. The first rule adopted by the Civil Service Commission, back in 1884, reads as follows: "No question in any form of application or in any examination shall be so framed as to elicit information concerning the political or religious opinions or affiliations of any applicant, nor shall any inquiry be made concerning such opinions or affiliations, and all disclosures thereof shall be discountenanced."

YET here are some of the questions asked at loyalty examinations:

What do you think of the third party formed by Henry Wallace? Is your wife a churchgoer? Do you read a good many books? How do you explain the fact that you have an album of Paul Robeson?

(Continued on Following Page)

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(Continued from Preceding Page)

son records in your home? Do you believe that Negro blood should be segregated in the Red Cross blood bank? Which newspaper do you read? Would you say that your wife has liberal political viewpoints?

J. Edgar Hoover advised the chairman of the National Labor Relations Board that an employee of that office "is known to have radical tendencies leaning toward communism. It is further reported that X has studied anthropology and has been affiliated with the NLRB for three years. It was also reported that X visited Mexico City to observe the Presidential election (of 1946) in that country."

A SECOND fear—that Communists or subversives will give away military or scientific secrets—has encouraged the dangerous notion that secrecy and security are synonymous, strengthened the demand for the return of control over atomic energy to the military, given impetus to the current attack on David Lilienthal, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, and threatened the whole program of scientific research with confusion. That foreign spies are active may be taken for granted; it should be taken equally for granted that the FBI and our military counter-intelligence are on the job.

The danger created by this second fear concerns our national security. There can be no secret of atomic energy that foreign, let us say Russian, scientists will not discover. Our security lies not in secrecy but first in the preservation of peace, and second in the encouragement of the best scientific brains in the country to work on atomic energy and other scientific measures. They can work properly only in an atmosphere of freedom.

It is well to remember that the military did not develop the atomic bomb but civilians did; and that scientists, who are presumably as patriotic as Congressmen, are opposed to loyalty checks. Dr. W. A. Higginbotham has noted that 100 competent scientists have been barred from Government work without a hearing, and without reasons. If we discourage or fail to use our available scientific talent we

may find ourselves dropping behind in the atomic race.

A third fear sweeping the country is that of subversive teachings in schools and colleges. Half a dozen states have already enacted teachers' oaths and similar legislation; others may confidently be expected to follow the examples of New York, Illinois and Washington in proscribing not only Communists but "subversives."

IN New York the Board of Regents is authorized to draw on any list prepared by any Federal agency for its own list of subversive organizations. When we recall that the Attorney General's and House committee's lists run to several hundred, and that among these are such harmless organizations as the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, we can realize the dangerous potentialities of such a program.

The real danger created by this third fear is that legislatures will produce an atmosphere of suspicion and timidity, that they will discourage independence of thought, original investigation, and association. Before we put a premium on conformity in our schools, we would do well to note the admonition of Dean Wilbur J. Bender of Harvard University:

"The world is full of dangerous ideas, and we are both naive and stupid if we believe that the way to prepare intelligent young men to face the world is to try to protect them from such ideas while they are in college. Four years in an insulated nursery will produce gullible innocents, not tough-minded realists who know what they believe because they have faced the enemies of their beliefs."

THESE are some major manifestations of the current hysteria; scores of others could be added, but they would merely elaborate the pattern rather than enlarge it. That there is a pattern is clear; it is a pattern of fear and suppression. The peril is perhaps more serious today than in the days of the Alien and Sedition Acts or the slavery controversy, for now the whole world is interested in our effort to maintain the traditional liberty with order.

The current program of sup-
(Continued on Page 47)

PICTURE CREDITS

- | | |
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| 3-DUMONT | 26-AMERICAN CANCER SOCIETY |
| 4-WILLIAM J. DAVIS FROM MONCKMEYER, AMARILLO TEXAS GLOBE NEWS AND ASSOCIATED PRESS | 27-DRAWING BY RALPH MICHEL |
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PUZZLES

FROM THE DAYS NEWS

By Harold T. Bors

ACROSS

- 1 U. S. Ambassador-at-Large.
- 7 River crossed by Mao's forces.
- 14 Low-slung carriage.
- 20 Fly.
- 21 Spanish-Portuguese.
- 23 North-South street in N.Y.
- 23 TV's top star.
- 24 Pope Pius XII before 1959.
- 25 Singer killed in wartime crash.
- 26 Is benumbed.
- 27 Hawaii and Alaska are potential.
- 28 Made reparation.
- 29 Round face.
- 31 P. H. La G's trade-mark.
- 32 Salesman who dies nightly on B'way.
- 34 Buddhist pillar.
- 37 Sharper.
- 39 Sahara region: Var.
- 41 Gen. Arnold.
- 44 Blunderbore was one.
- 46 Miner's goal.
- 47 Duke of the Dodgers.
- 48 Commodities.
- 49 Baseball czar.
- 51 Basks in the sun.

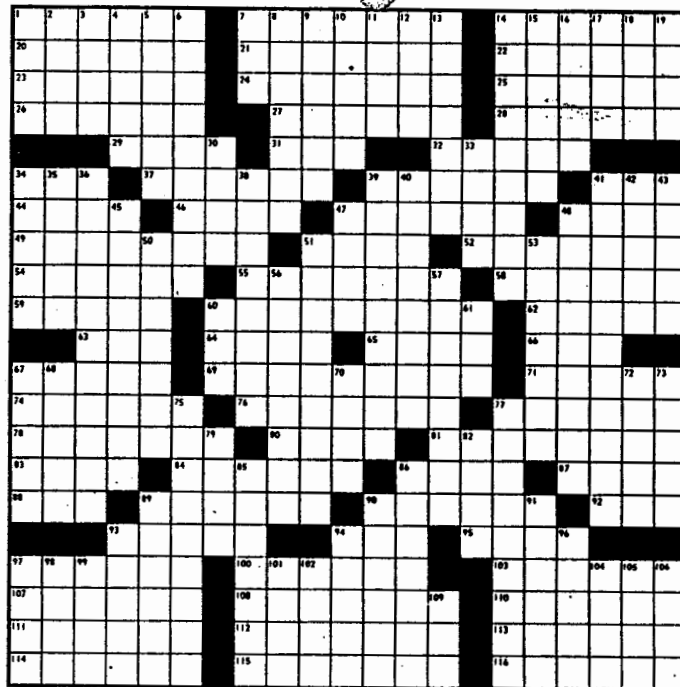
- 52 Beat of U. of Wyoming.
- 54 Town in India.
- 55 Frank: Dial. Eng.
- 56 Not unusual.
- 59 Ruhr city.
- 60 Calcium carbonate.
- 62 "Ballad of Sir Patrick."
- 63 Sharp projecting part.
- 64 Willow.
- 65 Pub specialties.
- 66 Swiss river.
- 67 Cook's bailiwick.
- 68 Feet of a pig, used as food.
- 71 Rock goods.
- 74 Dry gully.
- 76 Grippe symptom.
- 77 Fled horses.
- 78 Repowers.
- 80 Canal in Flanders.
- 81 Brooks Atkinson's beat.
- 83 Extoller of wine.
- 84 Denizens of Aqueduct.
- 86 Unworthy.
- 87 Mount in Apocrypha.
- 88 Polish river.
- 89 Worn by Tommies.
- 90 Sweet-appled trees.
- 92 Egyptian rule.
- 93 "Fermex la —."
- 94 Marker on a golf course.

- 95 Hymned rock.
- 97 Ingenious.
- 100 "Sweetening" the soil.
- 103 Your first toy.
- 107 Rabbit-sized rodent.
- 108 Makes evident.
- 110 Young republic.
- 111 Instructs, as a witness.
- 112 Pulitzer Prize novelist.
- 113 Capital of New Caledonia.
- 114 Fifth Avenue outing.
- 115 Stepper.
- 116 Enrolls.

DOWN

- 1 Crowds.
- 2 Malignant.
- 3 Strainer, sieve: Dial.
- 4 Fed up.
- 5 Happy land.
- 6 Florida naval base.
- 7 Bark: Slang.
- 8 Discomfits.
- 9 Drink of the gods.
- 10 "The — Gatsby."
- 11 Boat awning.
- 12 Ex-middle-weight champ.
- 13 Isolated.
- 14 Outrigger raft.
- 15 Hindu incarnation.

- 16 Cleveland pitching ace.
- 17 — ben David, founder of Jewish sect, 765 A.D.
- 18 Certain.
- 19 Beer collar.
- 20 Fishing requisite.
- 23 Russian city.
- 24 "Petroleum V. Naby."
- 25 Masters: Persia.
- 26 Kingdom since 1946.
- 28 Wood under-miners.
- 29 Literary commentator.
- 40 Stalin.
- 41 Broadway's W. B. Gilbert.
- 42 Aherent of a fourth century doctrine.
- 43 Skins.
- 45 Try: Eng. sp.
- 47 Salts.
- 48 Personal camouflages.
- 50 Small boats.
- 51 Literary tracts.
- 53 Girl's name.
- 56 British war-ship attacked in China.
- 57 Organ lever, worked with the leg.
- 60 Durocher.
- 61 Curve.
- 67 Arm of the Aegean.
- 68 Tropical tree.
- 70 New York Senator.
- 72 Blackmore's heroine.



- 73 Composition.
- 75 Else.
- 77 Blue-black falcon.
- 78 Weed out.
- 82 Spanish exclamation.
- 85 Send back to Washington.

- 86 Bearer of hereditary qualities.
- 88 Kicked.
- 89 Uttered primly.
- 91 Brief annual period of festivity.

- 93 Feather.
- 94 Mary Martin's leading man.
- 96 Walk cockily.
- 97 Lal Abner's creator.
- 98 Site of Taj Mahal.

- 99 Fat dormouse.
- 101 Mr. Novello.
- 102 He hit No. 200 this season.

- 104 Mild.
- 105 Oblique look.
- 106 Greek guerrilla group.
- 108 Russian state: Abbr.

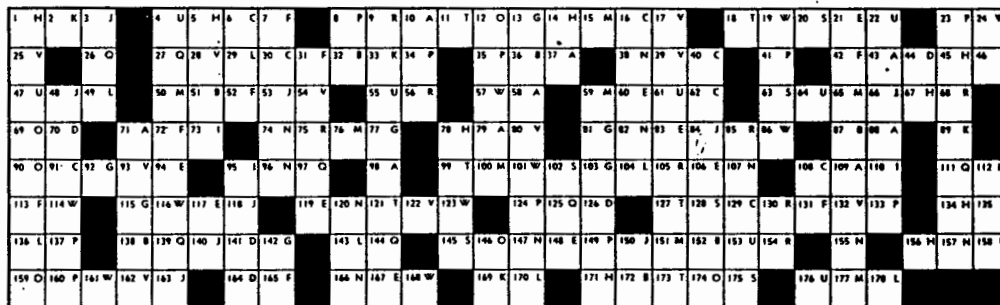
Solutions to last week's puzzles will be found on pages 52 and 53

DOUBLE-CROSTIC

By Elizabeth S. Kingsley

Guess the words defined below and write them over their numbered dashes. Then transfer each letter to the correspondingly numbered square in the pattern. Black squares indicate word endings. The filled pattern will contain a quotation reading from left to right. The first letters of the guessed words will form an acrostic, giving author's name and title of work.

This type of puzzle, originated by Mrs. Kingsley, appears here by arrangement with the copyright owner, The Saturday Review of Literature, which publishes Double-Crostics as a regular feature.



- A. Curved like the letter S (Her.)..... 43 88 109 58 37 96 71 79 10
- B. A decisive battle of the world..... 32 102 172 135 136 51 87 36
- C. Known as the "Soldiers' Battle," Crimean War, Nov. 5, 1854..... 129 16 62 30 40 91 106 5
- D. Italian composer, operas, oratorios, choral church works (1867-1940)..... 44 70 126 161 164
- E. That which strongly attracts (Var. sp.)..... 21 107 83 117 119 148 60 106 94
- F. Rudimentary sensation..... 52 31 7 72 113 42 131 105
- G. Withstands..... 81 77 103 92 142 115 13
- H. A notorious "hall" (school) in a Dickens novel..... 171 97 14 76 45 134 5 1 106
- I. Noted engineer and inventor (Burst in Hall of Fame, 1920; 1920-87)..... 73 95 110 46
- J. Scott's favorite among his novels (With The)..... 46 163 66 94 150 3 140 53 118
- K. Low, flat ground; plain (From the Hindu)..... 109 89 158 23 1
- L. Calm; peaceful (Of classic origin)..... 104 143 39 136 176 170 49

- M. Certainly; in reality (3 wds.)..... 177 76 15 50 89 151 65 100
- N. A hoop skirt or hoop petticoat..... 38 157 147 130 112 62 96 106 155 74 101
- O. Gazing or looking at fixedly..... 146 90 60 174 12 189
- P. Mountain range in New York State..... 160 149 41 25 35 34 133 6 134 137
- Q. Signal victory over Danes, 871, by Alfred the Great and Ethelred..... 36 27 139 97 125 111 144
- R. Dictatorship of the proletariat as later modified by N.E.P. (Russia)..... 130 154 85 105 9 75 96 68
- S. Visible sign or symbol of an idea..... 145 175 63 30 103 135
- T. A reciprocating motion..... 99 173 11 177 121 18
- U. A classic novel in American literature..... 47 64 176 22 4 85 61 153
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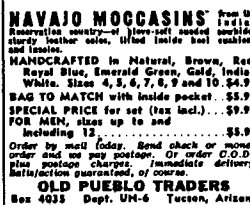
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By SIGMUND SPAETH

Maj. Gen. Russel B. Reynolds, chief of Special Services in Washington, is now trying to solve the problem by means of a

SIGMUND SPAETH, who writes, lectures, broadcasts and acts in films—all on the subject of music—was one of the Army song contest judges.

Both these familiar bugle calls have been fitted with words, and their simple pattern, derived from the tonic triad, the major chord, has given a military flavor to many a popular song, with outstanding examples in George Cohan's "Over There" and Irving Berlin's "Oh, How I Hate to Get Up in the Morning!" The anonymous "You're in the Army Now" has a pure bugle tune, but its words are not exactly dignified. The printed versions have all side-stepped (unlike the President

Every soldier, sailor, marine and flier knows some songs that are absolutely unprintable, and these may be considered the true favorites, even though necessarily limited to private performance. Some of these can be cleaned up and abridged for at least semi-public occasions and some offer no real problems of censorship beyond a little profanity. This category would include "You're in the Army Now" and a number of the verses to "Mademoiselle From

Of all the music associated with any part of the Army the "Calisson Song" is definitely the most popular. John Phillips Sousa used the tune in his "Field Artillery March" and was at one time generally considered its composer (a belief evidently shared by Sousa himself). It has now been established, however, that both words and music of the "Calisson Song" were written by Lieut. (later Brig. Gen.) Edmund H. Gruber.

THE "Caisson Song" might be considered a model of what the Army as a whole would like for its official theme. Even though it is technically limited to the Field Artillery, its rousing strains are sung with gusto by all branches of our military forces. A touch of synecopé adds to the liveliness of the verse.

There is nothing in the text of the "Caisson Song" to embarrass a self-conscious soldier. The opening lines, *Over hill, over dale,
We have hit the dusty trail,* are full of realism. There is nothing fancy or artificial

MEN OF THE ARMY

We are the men of the Army—
We're proud of the record we've made;
We're always in the thick of things and al-
ways have a gain.
We sing, and shout, and sweat, and fight, but
never take it on the chin;
We're proud to fight for the Army.
We won't give up—it's down with the enemy!
We're sons of sons of fighting men who
carved our history;
We'll carry on just like our sires for all
eternity.

We are the men of the Army—
The Army is the best on land or sea;
The Army is the best for you and me.

By Frank Ryerson and Youpha Monroe © 1944

IT'S THE ARMY

It's the Army, the United States Army.
Guarding life and liberty.
It's the Army, the grand old Army,
That made this nation free.
'Round the world, Old Glory
Tells the world our story.
When a battle's to be won,
With a shovel or a gun,
The Army's in there pitchin'
Till the job's well done.
And now the Army is a brand new Army.
On the watch from sea to sea.
For harmony and unity of nations
The Army holds the key.
So, light the light of freedom,
Keep it burning bright for all,
And FIGHT for the RIGHT with the MIGHT
Of the Army answering its call.

By Thomas I. Filos and Will Rosaler © 1944

For soldiers' singing—Excerpts from the prize-winning songs the Army is testing.

MARCH ALONG

March along, we're Uncle Sam's men—we
fight to keep our liberty.
March along, our flag to defend—we fight for
our democracy.
We will never rest 'til the job has been done;
We will give our best 'til the battle is won;
So, shoulder arms, give out with a song.
And march, march along!

By Jimmy Highsmith © 1943

THREE CHEERS FOR THE ARMY

Then give THREE CHEERS FOR THE
ARMY!
For the Army of the U. S. A.
We've pledged our hearts to the Army;
For its glory, we'll go all the way.
In war or peace it's the Army—
It has never failed to stand the test;
So give THREE CHEERS FOR THE
ARMY.
For the service that leads all the rest.

By Mrs. John Nancy Warren © 1944

WE'RE THE ARMY, U. S. A.

We're the Army, U. S. A.
We can fight, we can work, or we can play.
Let the Air Force fan the breeze
And the Navy roam the seas,
For the Army's always there to lead the way.
We're on duty all the time ev'rywhere
Night or day, rain or shine, we don't care.
So come on, with heads held high,
Snap it up, it's do or die
For we're out to do our job today;
We're the Army, U. S. A.

By Lilburn S. Fawcett © 1944

Navy and Air Force have theirs; now the "Joes" are trying out five to see which they like best.

the language. Such expressions
as "Sound off your numbers
loud and strong" have the right
military flavor, and the inter-
polated shout, "Keep 'em roll-
ing," near the end emphasizes
the basic idea that "those cal-
sons go rolling along."

THERE is a similar straight-
forwardness in the Navy's
"Anchors Aweigh," written in
1906 by A. H. Miles, R. Lovell
and Charles A. Zimmerman.
The basic version emphasizes
the pleasures of shore leave,
with such suggestions as
"Through our last night on shore
Drink to the foam."

(It might just as well have
been "Through the foam.") The
closing line innocuously adds,
"Here's wishing you a happy
voyage home."

The "Army Air Corps Song,"
which won a prize contest for
Robert Crawford in 1939
(thereby establishing a prece-
dent which should be encourag-
ing to the Army's current ef-
forts), stands today on a level
of popularity close to that of
the "Caisson Song" and "An-
chors Aweigh." This is a real
tribute to its musical and liter-
ary qualities, for it is a far more
elaborate and "arty" song than
either of its predecessors.

Finally, there is the famous
"Marines' Hymn," perhaps the

best known of them all, and
for excellent reasons. The stir-
ring music of that militant
classic is by no less a composer
than Jacques Offenbach, who
wrote it as a duet, "The Two
Gendarmes," in his opera "Gen-
evieve of Brabant." It was bor-
rowed and adapted in 1919 by
A. Tregina of the United States
Marine Band, but nobody knows
who wrote the words. They also
have a literary quality above
the average, with just the right
atmosphere suggested by the
opening lines:

From the halls of Montezuma
to the shores of Tripoli
We fight our country's battles
on the land and on the sea.

In the later verses the satiri-
cal impulses creep in gradually,
with a grand climax in the clos-
ing couplet:

If the Army and the Navy ever
look on heaven's scenes,
They will find the streets are
guarded by the United States
Marines.

WITH this quartet of suc-
cessful models, it becomes fairly
easy to analyze the reasons for
such success. Obviously any
song of military significance
must be in march time, if it
is to be played by bands and
sung as a rhythmic stimulus
to physical energy. Its tune
should be fairly simple—quickly
learned and easily remembered;

yet, it cannot be commonplace.

For the words a combination
of honest sentiment and famil-
iar everyday language seems
desirable. Patriotism can be
expressed, but only with a com-
plete absence of artificiality or
insincerity. The stock phrases
about our country and our flag
are mostly taboo. They have
been used too often to register
conviction and are accepted to-
day only in such traditional
classics as the national anthem.

MOST important of all is
the creation of a definite atmos-
phere, recognizably fitting the
subject of the song. A mere
string of platitudes is not
enough. The mood and spirit of
the armed forces concerned must
be clearly and honestly ex-
pressed, perhaps with the help
of characteristic phrases, mili-
tary commands or the homely
slang of the enlisted man.

Such a song is not easy to
write, particularly if it is to
possess official dignity in addi-
tion to its popular appeal. Tin
Pan Alley tried it with conspic-
uous lack of success in the sec-
ond World War. The problem
of the Army is to find a song
that is officially acceptable to
the high command and the
civilian public, without sacrific-
ing too much of that earthy
honesty that is the inevitable
result of military training.

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THIS IS ANASTASIA . . .

She lives in a hovel in Yania, Greece. The hovel is made of heavy cardboard cartons from the U. S. The floor is of dirt, and Anastasia sleeps in her clothes on some old rags in the dirt. There is no sanitation. Her eyes are affected by trachoma and her little body is covered with sores. She would have long since scratched herself to bleeding had it not been for the welcome DDT squad which comes every so often to spray her.

Anastasia, if she is lucky, has one meal a day—some bread and some greens which are available now in the nice weather. These are put in her little can, and moistened with some water, if any is available. Her mother died of pneumonia from sleeping on the damp ground. Her father is in the mountains fighting for Greece. Anastasia doesn't understand one single word of the arguments that go on around her daily about the situation in Greece. She is a Greek child who like thousands of others was unfortunate enough to be born in the mountain areas.

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State of Mind Called Kansas

(Continued from Page 13) and dull as to be in itself a sufficient cause of religious and moral excesses.

Actually Kansas, her physical self and her distinctive personality, are a composite of at least three quite different Kansases. The eastern third is a section of limestone hills bounding broad rich river valleys, a diversified farming area containing coal, lead, and zinc mines, and more than half of the state's total industrial wealth. The central third of the state is sometimes called the Low Plains; wheat is a major crop, though farming is diversified.

Oil and airplanes are pivots of industrial life around Wichita, and salt is of major importance to Hutchinson.

THE western third of Kansas is the High Plains area, the immense tableland whose topography is mistakenly deemed by most non-Kansans to be the topography of the state as a whole. This is short-grass country, semi-arid and thinly populated. It was once a mighty cattle range, and portions of that range still remain. But for the most part western Kansas has been planted to hard red winter wheat, introduced by Mennonites from Russia in 1874 and vastly improved since that time by plant breeders. Here, too, is oil.

With these differences in economy coincide differences in cultural pattern, in historical tradition and temperamental outlook.

In eastern Kansas, the dominant cultural pattern was first set by New England abolitionists who came in the Eighteen Fifties, armed with Bibles and rifles, to fight it out with Southern pro-slavers for possession of the territory. They had an importance in shaping the state's traditions out of all proportion to their numerical strength. They were men and women of fiery conviction, profoundly committed to human freedom and hence passionately hostile to slavery. But since their respect for human personality derived from that personality's dependence upon a stern God, they were sometimes inclined toward a tyranny of morals.

THESE New Englanders, however, were far from being the amug conservatives that some of their descendants have become. Their religious idealism led them to challenge whatever institutions were, in their view, contradictions of a higher law—which is to say they had a radical reforming zeal that could mount to a revolutionary passion.

In the central third, or Low Plains section, of the state, Puritanism was reinforced in the Seventies and Eighties by an influx of religious colonies.



In the American heartland—The harvest dinner remains a bygone

Dunkards and River Brethren settled around Abilene. Swedish Lutherans settled around Salina; and Lindsborg and McPherson. German Mennonites settled to the north of Wichita. With these people religion was far more than a Sunday affair. It conditioned nearly all the living habits of the River Brethren, for example, whose colony at Abilene contained the Eisenhower family.

But in Abilene Puritanical religion encountered a far different vital attitude. The Abilene to which the River Brethren came had been a decade before nationally notorious as a lawless cow town, a scene of lurid pleasures and violent deaths. Here had ended the Chisholm Trail, up which Texas longhorn cattle had been driven by the hundred thousand for shipment east on the Kansas Pacific. Here Wild Bill Hickok and a half-dozen other folk heroes of the frontier had made their gaudy reputations.

THIS Wild West tradition had little to do with godliness and moral rectitude, but it placed great emphasis on self-reliance, on fighting and gambling courage, on physical toughness, and on the skillful use of tools and weapons. It bred an uncompromising economic individualism, and it certainly had more in common with the Cavalier traditions of the South than it had with the New England that had triumphed east of the Flint Hills. It mingled in uneasy truce with Puritanism on the Low Plains, but it became actually dominant west of Salina, the semi-arid region with its gambling economy of cattle and wheat and oil.

Thus the character of Kansas was formed, originally, upon a tension between cultures alien, and even antagonistic, to one another. It was a tension which, for the first five decades of the state's existence, made for the rise of a number of vigorous and colorful personalities like John

Brown, Jim Lane, John J. Ingalls, Sockless Jerry Simpson, Mary Ellen Lease, Ed Howe, and William Allen White. During those years Kansas was widely regarded as among the most progressive of all states: a community of practical idealists in an environment hostile to complacency.

FOR example, a Kansas Legislature, in 1883, braved cries of "radicalism" to establish a board of railroad commissioners with authority to fix rates and regulate working conditions. Kansas adopted an eight-hour labor law in 1889. Kansas was among the leaders of the nation in the establishment of compulsory education, the limitation of child labor, the setting up of a juvenile court, and the establishment of standards of sanitation for packing and other industries.

Kansas' "blue sky" law, regulating and supervising investment companies, was imitated by many states. Kansas extended complete suffrage to women in 1913 when only six other states, none of them lying to the east, had already done so. Even the adoption of prohibition in 1881, could be considered bold, progressive legislation at a time when liquor interests were powerful and corrupting influences in politics.

And so, in 1922, William Allen White could boast "When anything is going to happen in this country, it happens first in Kansas. Abolition, Prohibition, Populism, the Bull Moose, the exit of the roller towel, the appearance of the bank guarantee, the blue sky law . . . these things come popping out of Kansas like bats out of hell. Sooner or later other states take up these things, and then Kansas goes on breeding other troubles."

But alas, there was equal truth in the far different view which White took of his native state in 1934, when he contributed a piece called "Just Wondering" to the year's Kansas Magazine. He



*part of Kansas folkways.

wondered where Kansas had lost her vitality and her creative state pride, why Kansas no longer produced "rugged Shakespearean characters."

Certainly something departed from Kansas after the death of the Bull Moose in 1912. The great wild-eyed idealists were mostly gone by 1922. Their inheritance was seemingly dissipated among the earnest advocates of petty prohibitions (even cigarettes were legally banned in the Twenties); their roles of leadership were given up to men who apparently kept all their values in cash registers. The state began to seem as flat psychologically as she is deemed to be topographically.

Her newspapers and public spokesmen, once creative, vital personalities, became so uniformly mediocre, so solidly committed to the same trader values and politics, as to create a dead level of conformity. The old vitalizing tension between Puritan and Wild West relaxed. Only a pale echo of it could be heard in the recent tumult over liquor, in which a Puritan willingness to legislate private morality was counter-balanced, and finally overcome, by the Plainman's insistence on a laissez-faire economy.

WHAT had happened, and why?

An explanation lies in the persistence, in Kansas, of an agrarian economy while the country as a whole was wrestling with industrial growth and problems of which the average Kansan had slight knowledge: labor relations, foreign relations, monopoly, corporate taxation, city management. Inevitably the average Kansan translated these issues into terms of his own rural experience. But his concepts, up to date, even progressive in a rural society, sometimes became hopelessly reactionary when applied to an environment of giant corporations, alum-infested cities, and overt or covert class struggle.

And as the rustic Kansas (Continued on Following Page)

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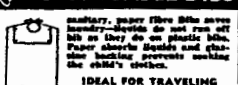


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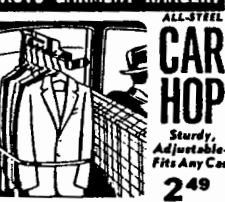
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Saturday Review

THE FRENCH ART SHOWS:

A Letter from Paris

By JAMES THRALL SOBY

(See *The Fine Arts*, page 30)

OF LITERATURE

TWENTY CENTS NOVEMBER 5, 1949



Eleanor Roosevelt, author of "This I Remember." (See page 12)

In Defense of Talk

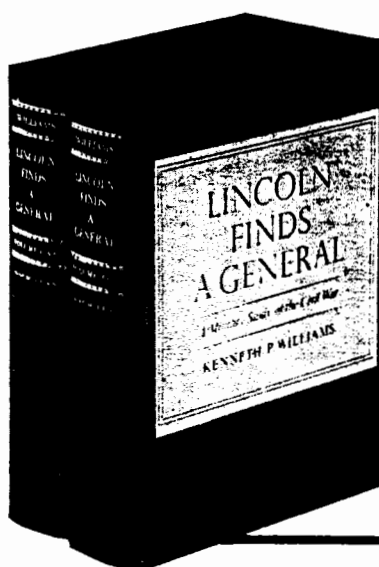
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This Week

November 5, 1949

Cover Drawing by Frances O'Brien
After Sketches from Life

Article

IN DEFENSE OF TALK
By Dixon Wecter..... 9

Reviews

THIS I REMEMBER
Reviewed by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr....12

F. D. R.—MY BOSS
Reviewed by Jonathan Daniels.....14

STAFFORD CRIPPS
Reviewed by Dexter Perkins.....14

COUSINS AND COMMISSARS
Reviewed by Henry C. Wolfe.....15

SOVIET GOLD
Reviewed by Martin Ebon.....16

KNIGHT'S GAMBIT
Reviewed by Howard Mumford Jones.17

THE CRY AND THE COVENANT
Reviewed by Edmund Fuller.....18

THE PRIMITIVE
Reviewed by Walter Haverhurst....19

THE WOMAN OF ROME
Reviewed by Siegfried Mandel.....19

THIS I SAW
Reviewed by Walter Pach.....32

IN OUR IMAGE
Reviewed by Pierre van Paassen.....33

ARCHITECTURE AND THE SPIRIT OF MAN
Reviewed by William Lescage.....34

Departments

TRADE WINDS
By Bennett Cerf..... 4

LITERARY CRYPT.....18

EDITORIAL20

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.....22

SEEING THINGS
By John Mason Brown.....26

THE FINE ARTS
By James Thrall Soby.....30

LITERARY I. Q.....34

THE NEW RECORDINGS
By Edward Tatnall Canby.....38

THE NEW EDITIONS
By Ben Ray Redman.....39

DOUBLE-CROSTIC No. 815.....42

THE SATURDAY REVIEW OF LITERATURE, published weekly by the Saturday Review Associates, Inc., 25 West 45th Street, New York 19, N. Y. E. De Gulyer, Chairman of the Board; Harrison Smith, President; J. R. Coninsky, Executive Vice President and Treasurer; Norman Cousins, Vice President; Amy Loveman, Secretary; Nathan Cohn, Assistant Treasurer; Robert A. Low, Advertising Manager; Bert Garmine, Circulation Director; Robert Birnbaum, Assistant Circulation Director. Subscription \$6 a year; \$7 in Canada. Member of Audit Bureau of Circulation. Printed in the U. S. Vol. XXXII, No. 45, November 5, 1949. Entered as second-class matter at the Post Office in New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Indexed in the "Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature." Entire issue, Copyright 1949 by Saturday Review Associates, Inc.

NOVEMBER 5, 1949

MARGARET MEAD

author of

Coming of Age in Samoa, etc.

REBECCA WEST calls this "a vast, turbulent book, stuffed with facts . . . Margaret Mead is a genius of the prophetic sort."—N. Y. Herald Tribune.

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MORROW

TRADE Winds

DARNED IF THE book-fair craze hasn't descended upon us again, despite all my protestations about the shocking waste of time, energy, and expense involved. Book fairs can only succeed, I've cried, when they represent a community effort, with not one store or one newspaper as sponsor, but the whole town behind them—like the one in Dallas, for example. A passel of authors on the hoof may have been a novelty in the days of the Model T, I've insisted, but when the entire country can see or hear authors every night on radio and TV, getting angry on "Author Meets the Critics," or revealing their ignorance on quiz shows, or competing on lady commentators' programs with commercials for floor wax and panty girdles, the thrill of rubbing elbows with them in local emporiums is definitely gone.

So what happens? More book fairs in a single month than we've had in the past five years put together. Just goes to show my influence! Not only that, but, weak-willed dolt that I am, I appeared at three of them myself, and persuaded Whitney Darrow, Jr., to accompany me. Furthermore, I must admit we had a mighty fine time. Anne Udin, of Higbee's in Cleveland; Mary Welch, of Hudson's in Detroit, and Joe Estabrook, of Horne's in Pittsburgh, are not only three of our most important customers, but among the best-loved and most persuasive characters in the in-

dustry. Besides, it was mostly *their* time, energy, and expense. Thirty-six—count them, thirty-six—authors in all heeded their siren song and went through their paces like good soldiers. . . .

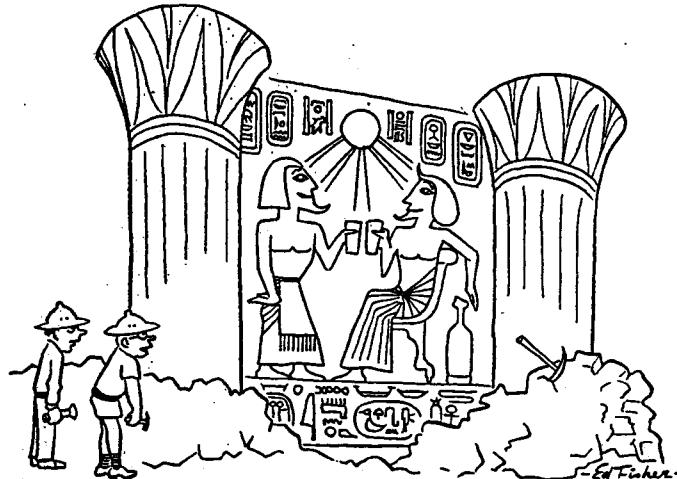
I MUST SAY that the three stores involved in the fair went all out to make it a success. Lavish window displays and bold newspaper ads gave the populace full advance notice of the goings-on, and when said populace failed occasionally exactly to fight its way into the auditoriums, the faithful clerks took up the slack and applauded until their little hands were calloused and sore. The trimmings in Pittsburgh were particularly impressive. Never have I seen books more attractively presented. If only they could have kept the displays intact through the holiday shopping season! . . .

WHITNEY DARROW'S reaction to the hectic doings was illuminating. He never had done this sort of thing, he protested, and knew he would bungle it. "I'll draw a few cartoons from my new album, 'Please Pass the Hostess,' but I'm darned if I do any talking," he threatened. After three days' exposure to obviously delighted audiences, however, he was lapping up the excitement so avidly that he demanded an extension of the tour to Hackensack, Tenafly, and Passaic. . . . Whitney, Senior, had

broken his habitual silence long enough to tell me how his son had met his destined bride. She was running the "Goings-On About Town" department for *The New Yorker* magazine when Young Darrow spied her and demanded of some underling (Harold Ross possibly), "What's the name of that attractive girl?" "Middy," was the answer. "How's that?" said Whitney. "Middy," repeated his informer, "as in blouse." So for three weeks Whitney wooed her in the belief that her name was Middy Asinblouse. . . . I told this story in Cleveland and it got such a laugh that Whitney promptly demanded it for himself in Detroit and Pittsburgh. . . . I must admit he gave me one in return. Seems Mr. Darrow, Senior, took time off from his labors at Scribner's one day to send his son a typewritten letter of advice. It was six pages long, single spaced. Mr. Darrow signed it "Yours in haste." . . .

ANNE FORD, Little, Brown's glamour girl, was in Cleveland to shepherd Wilma Perkins, the charming editress of the latest edition of that perennial best seller "The Fannie Farmer Cook Book," and she told a couple of delectable stories of the honeymoon of her sister Margaret with the erudite and well-loved John Kieran. It seems that a few hours after their nuptials, John heard a sound in the distance, and burst from the room. He was gone for all of a half hour. Upon returning he explained happily, "My dear, I'd have recognized that call anywhere, though I haven't heard it in years. It was a hairy woodpecker!" Margaret reported ruefully, "I'll be! I'm the only bride in America who was deserted on her wedding night for a hairy woodpecker!" . . . Later in the week Margaret heard a mouse scampering across the floor in the adjoining room. No mouse lover she, she screamed loudly and begged John to go and dispatch it. When he returned she looked at him suspiciously and asked, "John, did you kill that mouse?" "I simply couldn't do it, dear," he admitted. "The mouse turned out to be pregnant!" . . .

IN DETROIT, Alice and Martin Provensen, as attractive a couple as I've met in ages, drew pictures from their stunning new "Fireside Cook Book." Captain Edward Ellsberg recalled stories about the Navy, Ernestine Cary reminisced about the fabulous family she made famous in "Cheaper by the Dozen," and Dr. Norman Peale told all about confident living while a thousand enamored ladies cooed with delight. . . . Our day also



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thank you, Mr. Taylor*

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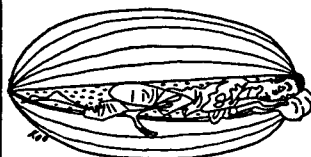
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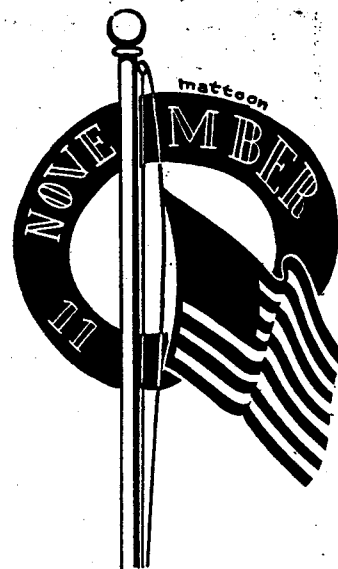
by **DAVID DODGE**
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RANDOM HOUSE



was enlivened by lunch with Malcolm Bingay, and a quick one with Charlie Hughes at the famous Detroit Athletic Club. . . . It was here that we heard of the nimble-witted automobile magnate who received a fine ham as a present and murmured, "Thanks, I'll smoke it later"; also of the bookseller who complained, "Radical books sell so poorly now that with every copy I have to give an extra pair of pamphlets." . . .

IN PITTSBURGH, I met Will Rogers, Jr., who looks and acts like his father and has the same charm. And there was Grace Tully, whom I had seen last at the White House, out to speak about her absorbing new book, "F. D. R.—My Boss." This was her very first speech, and, incredibly enough, the lady who had handled the likes of Churchill, De Gaulle, and Molotov with calm and authority was nervous as a babe. (Like Whitney Darrow, Jr., however, she learned fast; when I heard her going through her paces some days later at Macy's she had the sang-froid of a Clare Boothe Luce.) . . . Pierre Van Paassen, author of "Why Jesus Died," told of a black day in Paris in 1940 when two Nazi officers appeared suddenly at the door of his apartment and turned him out unceremoniously. "But my books?" asked Van Paassen. "Raus!" cried the Nazis. "We'll keep the books—and everything else." That's the last Van Paassen saw of his precious volumes until he visited Easton, Pennsylvania, for a lecture engagement a few short weeks ago. There, in the public library, arrived by what means he knows not, were 700 books from his old collection, with his bookplate still pasted in them! . . .

BERNIE SHEA, retired merchandise manager of the Joseph Horne Company, told me an apocryphal tale of how Joe Estabrook first latched on to his job there. "It was over twenty years ago," recalls Shea. "We needed a new book buyer and I heard there was a young ball of fire in Baltimore named Estabrook, so I went down to investigate. He impressed me very favorably. What's more important, however, is that when I left him I went out to the races at Laurel with Mr. Woodward, of Woodward & Lothrop's in Washington. Suddenly I noticed that a horse named First Edition was entered in the second race, and the odds against him were 40 to 1. 'I just talked to a book fellow,' I told Woodward. 'It's a hunch, and I'm going to play it.' 'Save your shekels,' begged Woodward. 'That



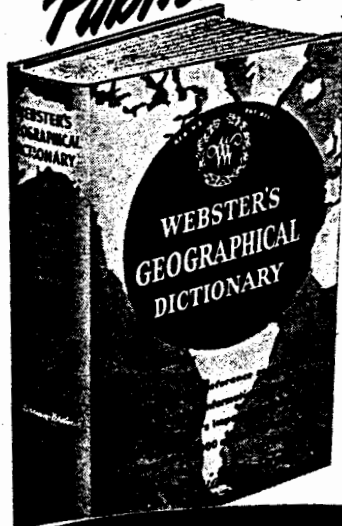
nag will bark all the way around the track and probably won't finish till next Wednesday.' Nevertheless, I bet First Edition to win, and he came in in a breeze. I went straight to a telegraph office and wired Estabrook, "The job is yours!" . . .

READING ABOUT all the trades the baseball magnates are supposed to be engineering set some of us to musing on how nice it would be if publishers could swap balky authors the same way. Can't you see the headlines: "Gunther to Doubleday for Kenneth Roberts and \$100,000 in Cash," or "Viking Mulls Offering Steinbeck and Half Its Juvenile Department for Marquand and a Couple of Promising Young Mystery Writers"? . . . An author who had just built a new home in Indianapolis, but outraged a Bobbs-Merrill director by kicking about his advertising appropriation might receive a wire saying, "You have been sold to Dutton's. Report to Nick Wreden Monday morning." . . . Johnny Farrar could tell a young author, "Judging by the reviews, you're not quite ready for the big time yet. I'm sending you down to the Siwash University Press for a little seasoning. Get just one book-club selection there, and I'll bring you right back." . . . And best of all, he could add, "As for that agent who nicked me for a three-thousand-dollar advance when he touted you so highly, I'm releasing him unconditionally to Squeedunk in the Class D League!"

—BENNETT CERF.

The Saturday Review

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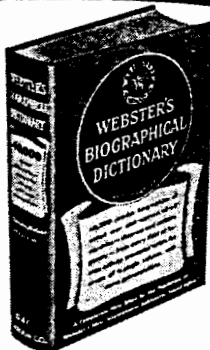
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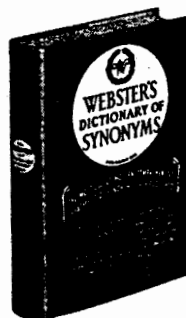
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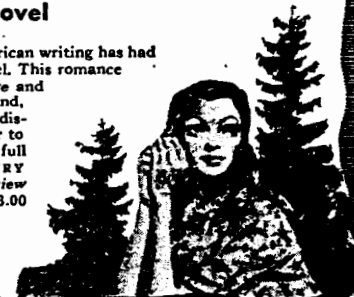
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The Saturday Review

In Defense of Talk

DIXON WECTER



Lancelot Hogben: "... men can be bedfellows in a common grave, or co-partners in a common prosperity."

MAN'S experiment of living with man on this contracting planet is mainly a problem in communication. Most of us believe that men of good will outnumber bad, that in a world where the democratic will were everywhere felt—based upon free and truthful information, of the sort which the OWI used to call "peoples speaking to peoples"—war would become not merely improbable but impossible. War itself might be described as the complete breakdown of communication between two or more governments, usually after lines of discussion and dispute over conflicting interests have grown more and more fouled up. So at last they have nothing to exchange but death, no way to communicate their opinions of each other save by recrimination, bullets, bombs, radioactive gases, and botulinum toxins.

Almost without exception the channels of diplomacy have been the first to clog, while the last, of course, are those buried pipe-lines called espionage. Both of these by-paths in communication are far more traditional than the broad avenue of peoples speaking to peoples. In earlier times this intercourse between peoples would have struck great technical snags. Beyond bars of language, barriers of time and space and the lack of proper media remained. Before finding themselves at war few citizens of any nation had much contact with or understanding of their supposed enemies—their traditions, habits, daily life, superstitions, opinions, ingrained prejudices. Up to the modern technological revolution, most

nations even in peace were hedged willy-nilly by an iron curtain of sorts, through which only slow outlets of trade and travel and the formal doorway of diplomacy permitted passage.

But telecommunications have changed all that, at least in theory. While quick individual access by voice or in person has been spread around the globe by telephone and plane, mass communication through radio, television, film, teletype, and telephoto not only has lent man the gift of ubiquitous presence but can put him in instant touch with his neighbors at the antipodes. Greenwich is now obsolete in the sphere of communications; there is only one world time. Here, as in other fields of science, the instruments stand ready. The engineers have made possible a cosmic pool of cultural exchange, education, and accord between groups—awaiting only the proper authority and the practical imagination to create it. How peoples can really speak to peoples, without distortion or suppression by their governments or party leaders whose strategy of self-perpetuation is to shield ignorance and heighten tension, is the toughest problem. (Problems of political technique and moral leadership are, to the modern mind, harder than those of engineering.) Who can rightly speak for a hundred million or two hundred million citizens? How can the collective mind and will be read and fairly reported? These are knotty questions, but not insoluble if the answers are sought by the light of universal literacy and franchise, extensions of the area of democratic

action, a free press and radio, a more effective UNESCO, and a bolder commitment to world federation. Certainly this way peace lies, rather than along the back roads of non-communication—including censorship, jamming of the air waves, burning of books, morbid fear of alien propaganda, or inquisition into the heresy of geneticists and the deviation of scholars always suspect by the timorous of plotting to commit some *trahison des clercs*.

A British student of language, William Empson, remarks that Americans fear propaganda because it claims to be "a scientific machine." Revering both science and the machine—a cult, by the way, shared with the Russians—we distrust our ability to stand up to its superhuman efficiency. Hence, speculates Mr. Empson, our "curiously girlish attitude" toward the magician of propaganda, as if to say, "Don't let him come near me, because if he does I'm sure to fall." Perhaps it is truer to say that in the United States the tradition of high-pressure advertising leaves some folk fearful that ideas no less than soap can be sold in this way—though the more logical deduction (to which growing numbers of Americans now subscribe) would seem to be the need for producing a better brand of soap and telling the world no less persuasively. Congress and the state legislatures still have their quota of nervous Nellies, but the American people as a whole have matured considerably since the days of A. Mitchell Palmer and the Lusk Committee. The prevailing good sense of the American

temper today—shown most recently in President Truman's sober disclosure of an atomic explosion in Russia, in Lilienthal's superb statesmanship as spokesman for the Atomic Energy Commission, and in the public response to these utterances—has been in heartening contrast to the calculated hysteria of the Soviet press and officialdom. For, despite occasional exceptions like our Parnell Thomases and Hickenloopers, and a few newspapers and commentators whose favorite incantation is "Flash!", the American majority has gone beyond the tribal threshold of those New Guinea peoples described by Margaret Mead, among whom "communication is seen primarily as a matter of arousing the emotions of the audience."

ON THE other hand, while approving the calmness of our citizens in a season of peril far more real than the Red scare of 1919—when, if there was a Bolshevik under every bed, at least he was equipped with nothing worse than a nitroglycerine bomb—one can't help wishing that clear heads and informed minds were accompanied by a more bracing sense of personal concern. Again I am tempted to quote Miss Mead, who in a 1948 symposium called "The Communication of Ideas" shrewdly observed that in the USA "the average citizen still identifies his position as

a minority one, and so always thinks of power as wielded by THEM, and not by himself or a group to which he belongs. All discussions . . . are likely to stumble over this feeling, that responsibility means power, and power is always in the hands of someone else." Will one measly vote, one letter to a Congressman, one dollar for organized opinion that represents my views, make any difference? We are too easily persuaded to inaction by a drop-in-the-bucket mass psychology.

And there are other deterrents. Experts at Columbia University's Bureau of Applied Social Research talk (with a touch of jargon) about "the narcotizing dysfunction produced by mass media of communication." So unceasing is the stream of news, so mighty its torrent, that the reader and listener—frequently the most informed and intelligent—is made numb or callous rather than energized by this over-stimulus. He knows and is prone to accept that fact somehow as a substitute for action. This is the old neurosis of Hamlet, momentarily paralyzed by the violence and terror of a world he never made, at last breaking through the circle of his own bemused thought too late to avert the tragic destiny whose approach he has watched with fascination. In the sphere of communications those who read a current book or newspaper or pamphlet, or happen to

hear a particular broadcast, compose a completely accidental, unorganized, and scattered group momentarily under the spur of the same words, images, ideas. But seldom do they achieve any intercommunication, any step toward leadership or action—a rare exception, for instance, being certain readers years ago of Streit's "Union Now." And as a still more obvious kind of atrophy, mass communication like mass production can turn out stereotypes—labels serving for ideas, concepts foggily recalled as equivalents for individual thinking, conclusions accepted drowsily in lieu of personal respon-

sibility. It is clear that mass communication, even the most truthful and informed, cannot alone remake either the republic or the world. The public response must be alert, intelligent, articulate, through media ready and sensitive to that purpose.

THE whole question of mass communication, particularly as a means toward war or peace, is naturally enmeshed with government. In a democracy, as Harold Lasswell has said, the consensus represents an agreement, at least in general terms, between the expert or specialist whose business is to know down to the last complex detail, the statesman whose job is to simplify and explain, and the average citizen whose duty is rational decision, before turning back to the statesman for effective leadership. If wide breaks occur in this transmission chain—as the result of distrust, cynicism, concealment of the truth out of political expediency, or apathy—then democracy fails. Otherwise this system ought to generate enough light and power for intelligent public opinion and concerted action. Yesterday in Hitler's Germany, today in Stalin's Russia, mass communication has meant nothing but another handout wrapped in a neat Party package, with no scruples wasted over the practice of suppression, distortion, and fabrication. Even in Perón's Argentina—where the act of criticizing or disparaging any Government official has lately been made a crime—I observed on a visit last month to Buenos Aires that one General Mende holds the title of Chief of Police and Culture. Such a corner on communications serves only to raise the American blood pressure.

Nevertheless in the United States the growth of Government concern for and participation in the field of mass communication seems likely, in fact inevitable. Here, as in other fields, laissez faire rarely means liberty or the public interest. A monopolistic bloc has long been building up under the hand of private enterprise, in the radio, cinema, and newspaper industries—thanks mainly to the financial and technical demands that surround big operations. So the Federal authority, while evoking anti-trust laws from time to time to keep the currents of competition moving through this log-jam, may itself have to assume more responsibility in paying the research bills for new enterprises and techniques. It will also have to take permanent charge of those vital but unprofitable sectors of mass communication which fail to attract private enterprise—notably overseas broadcasting.

People who recoil from govern-



—Illustrations from the book.

Five centuries after Gutenberg the printed page still can only suggest motion.

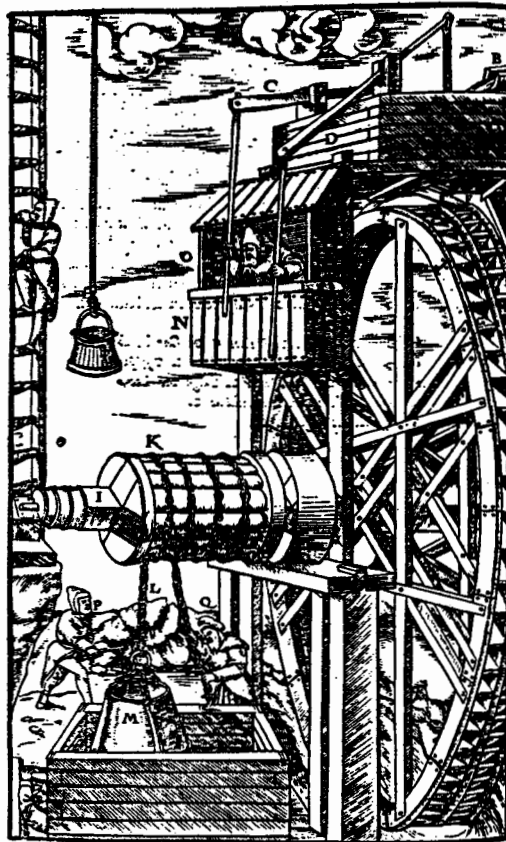
ment activity in the sphere of mass communication are as narrow-minded as those who fear private enterprise. Both can be misused; both can pull in the same harness with good effect upon each other. What matters is the given job to be done. No less a part of the true democratic process than the hoped-for interplay of information and opinion between nations is that of governments speaking to their own peoples—as the antiphony of peoples speaking to their government through ballots, letters, and telegrams. Two years ago the Committee on the Freedom of the Press said sensibly: "We recommend that the Government, through the media of mass communication, inform the public of the facts with respect to its policies and of the purposes underlying these policies and that, to the extent that private agencies of mass communication are unable or unwilling to supply such media to the Government, the Government itself may employ media of its own."

Norbert Wiener's recent book, "Cybernetics"—treating communications through the novel approach of studying the nervous equilibrium of men and complicated machines in transmitting messages—supplies a clue to the main hazard involved in our metropolitan culture. He notes that communication in small, closely-knit communities where direct contact exists between the members has a self-regulating stability and inner health absent from larger groups. This happens because in the great society the ruthless, ambitious, and self-aggrandizing immediately try to get a stranglehold upon the means of communication, and use those media to play the game of power. The result throughout the whole communicative web is what someone else has described as apoplexy at the center and paralysis at the extremities. In a land of free competition like the United States it is the entrepreneur who falls naturally into this role; in a monolithic state, the ruling clique. The latter can do more spectacular harm, but the former is by no means innocent.

The latest review of the science of communications—its fumbling evolution for 20,000 years, its brilliant technological spurt in the twentieth century, and its present power to help unify or exterminate the human race—is Lancelot Hogben's "From Cave Painting to Comic Strip: A History of Human Communication." It is a

hastily written but well-illustrated survey of Man as "the only talkative animal" and "only picture-making animal," thus able to pass on experience to his offspring.

The story begins with those paintings of bison and deer by which Aurignacian man wrought charms for good hunting, and the rise of totemism—whose essence, Hogben notes, was fear of committing incest through ignorance with a member of one's own animal clan. The steps forward are simple and logical. Periodic hunting of the sacred tribal beast along with foraging for seasonal food led to systems for keeping time: signs of the zodiac, star-lore, geometry, and the calendar. Computation of sowing and reaping cycles by the rhythms of womanhood and moon time (the lunar year of 360 days) was finally superseded by more precise sun time with 365 days—a change so important as to play a major part, Hogben guesses, in the shift from matriarchal to patriarchal society. End of the nomad era and the dawn of land ownership demanded more durable records, fostering the alphabet and mathematics. Their techniques had vast social consequences. While the complicated sign-writing of China has long served to make literacy the mystery of a caste, contributing no little to the present misery of that great nation, the more practical sound-writing of Semitic origin circa 1500 B. C. held the seed of universal education and democracy. Likewise in the science of numbers, India reached the ultimate simplification by creating ten symbols that included the zero, unknown to Greece and Rome, so that all could assume a value of position as well as absolute value. "The dawn of nothing in the poem of Omar Khayyám is the portent of the birth of



Illustrated works like Agricola's "De Re Metallica" [1556] simulated exchange between scientific theory and practice.

Hindu mathematics," writes Hogben with the touch of perceptive wit that has made him a successful popularizer.

But while counting such milestones in the communicative art as paper-making, printing with movable type (now yielding after five centuries to the superior methods of photographic facsimile), newspaper, film, and television, he forgets such obvious matters as the telegraph and cable, telephone, phonograph, wire-photo, FM, facsimile broadcasting, book clubs, semantics, and the still speculative subject of electronic V-mail (Ultrafax). Hogben's prejudices are frank and breezy—like those against lawyers, monks, the Roman Church, Dr. Samuel Johnson, and certain aspects of our American culture "dominated by the dollar incentive." The last-named thrust seems quaintly outmoded in these days of ERP and the Atlantic Pact. Today there is more dollar-consciousness (Continued on page 36)

"CYBERNETICS. By Norbert Wiener. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1948. 194 pp. \$5.
"FROM CAVE PAINTING TO COMIC STRIP: A History of Human Communication. By Lancelot Hogben. New York: Chanticleer Press, 286 pp. \$5.

Personal History. The title of Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.'s *"The Age of Jackson"* reminded many readers how few men have possessed the qualities that cause their own lifetime to be known by their name. To achieve such immortality a man must hold a prime political office for a considerable time and thus be able to influence the course of history at a critical juncture. In our own nation's past besides Jackson, Washington and Jefferson are so qualified; Lincoln does not make the grade because his time in high office was so brief; Webster and Clay never held exalted enough a post. In this century only one man has given his name to an age: Franklin D. Roosevelt. The two newest additions to the fast-increasing shelf of Rooseveltiana—Eleanor Roosevelt's *"This I Remember"* and Grace Tully's *"F. D. R.—My Boss"*—are reviewed below. . . . On page 14 we review a new life of Stafford Cripps.

A First Lady's Memories

THIS I REMEMBER. By Eleanor Roosevelt. New York: Harper & Bros. 387 pp. \$4.50.

By ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

ONLY once before—in the case of Edith Bolling Wilson's *"My Memoir"*—has the wife of a President of the United States published in book form her own reminiscences of her husband's Administration. But never before has anyone like Eleanor Roosevelt been a President's wife. And one striking thing about *"This I Remember"* is that its fascination comes almost less from its sidelights on Franklin D. Roosevelt than from its candid and beguiling revelation of a woman who is in her own right one of the most remarkable figures of our time.

Mrs. Roosevelt has already told part of the story of her life in *"This Is My Story"* (1937). *"This I Remember"* carries the story from her husband's convalescence in the early Twenties to his death in 1945. It has the same qualities of honesty, tact, and shrewdness as the earlier book; it has in addition, I believe, a deeper wisdom, drawn from the tragic experience of the last decade; and it applies these qualities less to private affairs than in the earlier volume and more to the great personalities and issues of our day. The result, it need not be said, is a work whose indispensability for the historian can be matched only by its intense interest for the general reader.

What a welter of memories it must have been!—that day in Campobello, so many years ago, when Franklin complained of a chill after a swim; the indecision in 1928 before

he decided to run for Governor; the cruel delay at a White House reception while the Hoovers kept the guests standing for a half hour, the crippled Governor of New York determined not to show weakness; the dreary misery of the Depression; the excitements of the war; the visits from crowned heads and from Mr. Churchill; the trips to Britain and to the South Pacific; then that black day in April and the long ride back from Warm Springs—"I lay in my berth all night with the window shade up, looking out at the countryside he had loved and watching the faces of the people at stations, and even at the crossroads, who came to pay their last tribute all through the night."

Yet through this all there emerges, even more clearly than the President, sketched as he is in a variety of intimate moods, a portrait of Mrs. Roosevelt. It is a portrait marked, of course, by the familiar Roosevelt qualities of warmth, humanity, and energy; but it is marked the more particularly by Eleanor Roosevelt's own fantastic quality of self-discipline, and even more by the devastating realism of judgment which hides under her apparently guileless language.

Self-control is the quality Mrs. Roosevelt seems to honor almost above any other. Brought up in a household characterized by a notable lack of it, she seems to have seen in self-discipline the solution to all the major problems of life. "I have a great objection to seeing anyone, particularly anyone whom I care about," she writes, "lose his self-control." Her touching comment on her much loved brother, Hall Roosevelt, discloses her own standards: "Fundamentally, I think Hall always lacked self-control. He had great energy, great physical strength, and great brilliance of mind but he never learned complete self-discipline." In contrast, Mrs. Roosevelt observes with approval of Queen Mary: "I recognized her thoughtfulness of others and the Spartan demands she makes on herself. . . . On the morning I left she was up before nine o'clock to see me off . . . which I thought showed great self-discipline. In the same way she fulfils every obligation of her position." Self-discipline has clearly been the rule of Mrs. Roosevelt's own life.

Now self-discipline involves in part an unswerving respect for the indi-



The FDR's in 1938—"Never before has anyone like Eleanor Roosevelt been a President's wife."



—Illustrations from the book.

With thirteen grandchildren in 1945—"Only a great woman could have written 'This I Remember.'"

viduality of others. It is Mrs. Roosevelt's self-discipline which has allowed her to endure the attacks of the Spellmans and Peglers with equanimity. But it is the same self-discipline—the same determination to be tolerant of others—which has often given her writing an air of foolish benevolence that does little justice to her real saltiness of personality. Actually her ingenuous prose conceals an enormously sharp and practical eye. Take her innocent comment on Henry Wallace's "guru" letters, for example: "I did not know Henry Wallace well, but my feeling was that he had simply been carried away by his intellectual curiosity. He was not realistic enough to appreciate how these letters would look to people who did not have the same kind of curiosity. I think that is one of his chief troubles: he cannot keep his feet on the ground." In the same quasi-naïve way she neatly disposes of people as diverse as Madame Chiang Kai-shek, Louis Adamic, and Brendan Bracken, puncturing their pretensions in language so tactful and kindly that one wonders whether she knows herself how truly devastating her most open phrases can sometimes be. What has happened perhaps is that Mrs. Roosevelt's self-discipline has transmuted without really blunting a sensibility as keen as that of her witty cousin Mrs. Longworth.

"This I Remember" gives special attention to the episodes in Mrs. Roosevelt's career which have especially exercised her critics. Her chap-

ter on the American Youth Congress polishes off the Communists with dispatch and ends with one of her typical sleeper remarks: "I think my work with the American Youth Congress was of infinite value to me in understanding some of the tactics I have had to meet in the United Nations." She characterizes her Office of Civil Defense experience with commendable frankness as "unfortunate." She reaffirms her affection for Louis Howe and expresses in contrast a somewhat measured evaluation of Harry Hopkins. Hopkins's café-society proclivities in his last years evidently disappointed Mrs. Roosevelt, who preferred him as a simple social worker. Her account of the 1940 convention supplies the most authoritative story of the third-term decision.

At times, it must be said, the book seems shaped overmuch by the requirements of the women's magazines. From the viewpoint of one who regards one Churchill (or Attlee) as worth all the crowned heads of Europe, there is an inordinate amount of detail about visiting royalty. And, on the other hand, the book is surprisingly vague in its picture of Washington and of the New Deal. Mrs. Roosevelt had close connections with the New York machine politicians, like Ed Flynn and Jim Farley, and with the social-worker group in WPA and in the Labor Department; but she seems not to have had much interest in the young New Dealers. Tom Corcoran, for example,

is mentioned once, in a curious coupling with Raymond Moley, Stanley High, and Bill Bullitt, as being one of several people who were close to the President for a time but did not mean much to him. Such a dismissal (not to speak of such a coupling) hardly does justice to Corcoran's great services to Roosevelt in his second term; but Corcoran was clearly not Mrs. Roosevelt's type. Felix Frankfurter and Harold Ickes appear fleetingly; and men like Ben Cohen, Leon Henderson, William O. Douglas do not appear at all.

But the defects are less important than the book itself—so wise, so penetrating, in parts so deeply moving. Only a great woman could have written it. Mrs. Roosevelt has long since tired of hearing herself described as the "first lady of the world." "This I Remember" establishes her all the more firmly in that undisputed place.

SOLUTION OF LAST WEEK'S
DOUBLE-CROSTIC (No. 814)

B. CERF:

SHAKE WELL BEFORE USING

Columnists do invent copy. When I mailed Irwin Edman a copy of the piece I wrote about him for this book, he noted at the bottom of the page, "I deeply enjoyed the stories about myself, particularly the ones I had never heard before."

*Changed the word sheet to page to get the needed g in the title.

Amanuensis No. 1

F. D. R.—MY BOSS. By Grace Tully. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 391 pp. \$3.50.

By JONATHAN DANIELS

IN THIS book the good secretary has done the last good job for the good Boss. It is written in that spirit and those who look to such recollections only for revelations may pass it by. Those, however, who hope to find in the personal histories being written about Franklin Roosevelt something of his essential spirit will find in this story all the essential items which added up to the stature and the personality of the man.

In a sense in the book Grace Tully herself has written the best review of it. She pretends to no wish or ability to write a dispassionate judgment of Franklin Roosevelt: "I long ago knew that it was my good fortune to work for a man of straightforward simplicity, courage, passion, and honesty—one of the great souls of history." More significantly, she makes no such pretense as some other recollecting writers have done to be the real hero of the story "while Roosevelt vanishes out of sight or is reduced to a small walk-on part." "I was merely a secretary to the President and no more." That is a large "merely." Hardly anyone served FDR so steadily, saw him more often, or more shared—if she did not shape—the confidences about great events.

If, as she says, her concern is with the minutiae of his life, it is with a magnificent body of minutiae which provide a very human story from the time of the Al Smith campaign in 1928 until that day in Georgia in April when the President died. And certainly nobody has written a more moving account of that tragic day.

Nobody need fear that Miss Tully's book is such a work in adoration that it falls into sweet solemnity. It would be hard to wrap Franklin Roosevelt up in snug, sweet terms. Furthermore—it may have been one of the reasons she served him so long—Grace Tully brings to this book as she did to her work a lively Irish humor and an occasional Irish sharpness. Her book contains accounts of many of the great number of men who were around Roosevelt in those years. Most of them had her affection but some here receive, as they deserved, acid or satirical treatment. From this book of "minutiae" historians will get much help in the understanding of such men as Al Smith and Harry Hopkins, Jim Farley and Winston Churchill, Tommy Corcoran and Louis Howe. Perhaps

the sternest portrait of them all is that by this Irish lady of that Chinese lady Madame Mei-ling Chiang Kai-shek.

This is, of course, a book for history. But it is certainly one also loaded with materials for present enjoyment. It contains a whole collection of new Roosevelt stories, significant, serious, and hilarious. Perhaps not strangely, however, it is probably the best textbook on how to be a good secretary ever written. Miss Tully lays down ten rules on "the fundamentals of secretarial conduct" which guided her while she served prelates, politicians, and a President. No business school



Grace Tully—"the best textbook on how to be a good secretary ever written."

should graduate a stenographer from this time on until she has learned those rules on pages 28 and 29 by heart.

In many ways they explain Grace Tully and her service to FDR. They explain the high quality of this book. She may have been "merely" a secretary tending to the minutiae of a President. But all Presidents would be happier, and even history would be simpler, if they could count on such mere secretaries as Grace Tully when high policy sets higher and higher and the Presidential going gets tougher and tougher.

Jonathan Daniels was press secretary to the President at the time of Roosevelt's death.

Law of Love in Britain

STAFFORD CRIPPS. By Eric Estorick. New York: The John Day Co. 342 pp. \$5.

By DEXTER PERKINS

BEYOND all question, the most striking political personality in Britain today is Sir Stafford Cripps. Mr. Estorick's book is an attempt to explain the development of this extraordinary man, who was born a Conservative, who, by virtue of his legal abilities, earned a large income at the bar, and might well have complacently defended the system which made this possible, but who, by some law of his nature, was drawn towards the Left, and often the extreme left of British politics, who had his moments of pacifism, his period of doctrinaire Socialism, who was in and out of the Labor Party by virtue of his extraordinary independence of mind, and who, after many vicissitudes, has attained so eminent a position today. And the thread of consistency in Cripps's attitudes Mr. Estorick finds in a deep Christian faith, in a genuine attempt to apply the law of love to the affairs of the state. This combination of Christianity and Socialism is commoner in Britain and in Europe than Americans always like to think, and an effort to make it understandable brings us closer, therefore, to some of the realities of European life. Whether it has always resulted in the best practical judgments or not, it is something that calls for admiration.

But this is not the only point that strikes one as he surveys Cripps's career. One of the things that stands out is not only the tolerance but the recognition that the British public is willing to award to independence and courage. Here in the United States the successful politician is almost always a reasonably conventional person, who may, indeed, move when movement is in the air, but who rarely cuts himself off very far from mass opinion. Such caution was never in Sir Stafford. He has not minded breaking with his party when the occasion called for it. But for this he has not been cast into outer darkness, as would probably have been the case here, but has been rewarded with higher and higher office. His success is a tribute to the temper of the British people and gives us something to envy.

Not that Sir Stafford has always been right. In common with many of his Labor Party colleagues, he was fatally wrong in the period of the Thirties, no more ready to arm

Britain than were his Tory adversaries, and offering a class reason for his opposition to doing so. At times he has seemed perilously like the doctrinaire, and has clung too firmly to some Socialist scheme. But in his case, as in many others, responsibility has modified his views, and experience has softened his dogmas. He is today not only a practical statesman, but a practical statesman who, more than most, has the courage to face up to the problems before him, to tell his Laborite followers unpalatable truths, and even to embark upon unpalatable courses of action. There is much force in the argument that, in the painful adjustments which face Britain in the immediate future, no other voice can speak with so much authority to the working masses whose cause he has championed.

All this comes out in Mr. Estorick's book, which is written throughout in a tone of admiration and sometimes with a distinctly partisan flavor. But there are certain defects in the mode of presentation. There is insufficient attention devoted to Sir Stafford's conversion from conventional Toryism into liberalism. There are far too many long quotations which interrupt the smooth flow of the narrative. And, most of all, it is regrettable to find Mr. Estorick describing the political democracy of the United States as "dominated by monopoly capitalism or the economic power of the few." Many people would say such a thing had never really been true of the United States. But it is ridiculous today. It is high time that Englishmen of the Left discovered the New Deal and the Fair Deal, and awakened to the fact that the center of political gravity in the American people today does not lie with big business but with far wider groups, organized labor, the farmer, and many others. Mr. Estorick has brought Sir Stafford nearly up to date; it would be well for him to bring himself up to date on America.

Dexter Perkins, professor of history at the University of Rochester, served as the first Professor of American History and Institutions at Cambridge University, England.

The World.

What is life like these days in the Soviet and her satellites? John Gunther presented a comprehensive and objective report on what he had witnessed on a tour of Eastern Europe in his widely read "Behind the Curtain." Two books reviewed below afford us more glimpses through the far from impenetrable curtain. The account Vladimir Petrov gives of his life as a slave laborer in the Siberian mines in "Soviet Gold" is frighteningly reminiscent of the books about Nazi camps which were a publisher's staple a decade ago. The other book, more cheerful in tone, deals with a country known to Americans chiefly through "The Native's Return" and other works of Louis Adamic. Mila Z. Logan's "Cousins and Commissars" suggests that although Yugoslavia has become the battleground of two warring brands of Communism, it remains an almost idyllically lovely land inhabited by charming people.

Siblings on the Adriatic

COUSINS AND COMMISSARS. By Mila Z. Logan. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 222 pp. \$2.75.

By HENRY C. WOLFE

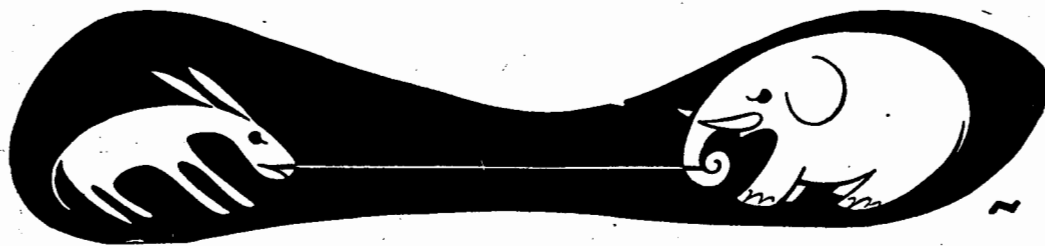
EVERY now and then the Yugoslav people and their country make the newspaper headlines. The first shot of World War I was fired in what is now a city in Yugoslavia; the crisis of October 1934 was initiated by the assassination of Yugoslav King Alexander; Hitler met a courageous foe in the Yugoslav people when, after failing to win their support, he staged a blitzkrieg into their country. Today it is the Kremlin's attempt to dominate Yugoslavia that once more trains the spotlight on the land of the South Slavs.

Yugoslavia's frequent appearance in the news is due mainly to her geographical position and the courage and character of her people. The country lies on the old invasion routes, both from the East to the West, and vice versa. The Turks and other aggressors of the past fought their bloody way westward and northward through the lands inhabited by the South Slavs. The Hapsburgs, Magyars,

Pan-Germans, and Nazis pushed southward toward the Aegean and the Persian Gulf through the countryside of the Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, and other South Slavic peoples. Today the Kremlin, looking toward the Adriatic, the Aegean, and regions beyond, is engaged in an all-out struggle to get control of this vitally important country.

If the reader wants the political and military low-down on the Tito-Stalin feud, he will be disappointed in this book. There is a minimum of politics and ideology, and no military or diplomatic exposés. The cousins, in short, far outnumber the commissars. But if the reader wants a close-up of some of the Yugoslav people, he will find this a highly enlightening volume. For here is a fascinating description of the Serbs who live along a section of the Adriatic coast. Their story is told with zest, with understanding, with keen humor. "Cousins and Commissars" will undoubtedly throw a good deal more light on the background of the present crisis than would the average book on economics, diplomacy, and military power.

The author, born in this country of Yugoslav parents and married to an



American, made her first visit to the land of her ancestors last year. It was a sentimental journey to the little town of Petrovats-na-More, the spot where her forefathers settled in 1389, the year of the battle of Kossovo, when the Serbian State was destroyed by the Turkish invaders. Here she met her cousins, hundreds of them. They are Pastrovichi, members of twelve of the original thirteen tribes who settled along this picturesque portion of the Adriatic coast below the mountains of Montenegro. "The Pastrovichi," says the author, "have always been a law unto themselves. In the days when the Adriatic was a trade route between Venice and the Orient they were pirates, some say." A virile, colorful people, they have kept their family strains clear of outside blood, though they are as hospitable as any people in the world. The author was almost smothered by their affection. In spite of the pitiful shortages of food, they winned, dined, and entertained. Cousins came from the hills, from other towns, from everywhere. Even Mrs. Logan apparently could not always straighten out the complicated relationships in which "according to Pastrovich reckoning, your second cousin's son is your nephew and he must call you Teta (aunt)."

To anyone who has ever visited a Serbian home, the author's sojourn with her Pastrovich relatives brings back the cleanliness of the laundry boiled in wood ashes, the almost religious devotion to the guest in the house, the bounteous offerings of food from an otherwise frugal people. The author's husband, who knew no Serbian when they arrived, soon learned "Uzmi," a word he heard wherever they went. The wife explained: "It means, 'Take, take some. Take something.'" The Logans had planned to leave presents for their hosts and return with light baggage. To their consternation, they left Petrovats-na-More loaded down with gifts, "Uzmi" ringing in their ears.

Speaking of the Yugoslavs, the author concludes: "I am no one to say where these people are going or whether their sacrifices will work out in the end for the greatest good of the greatest number. All I know can be put in the words of their own cinema title: 'These People Shall Live.' They will win their struggle for an honorable survival; they have never settled with history for less."

Henry C. Wolfe, an Officer of the Order of St. Sava of Yugoslavia, is author of "The Imperial Soviets" and other books.

Slaves in a "Classless Society"

SOVIET GOLD: *My Life as a Slave Laborer in the Siberian Mines.* By Vladimir Petrov. New York: Farrar, Straus & Co. 426 pp. \$4.

By MARTIN EBON

A SIXTEEN-YEAR-OLD boy writes his political thoughts into a diary. Three years later a lady friend turns against him and plants anti-Soviet books in his room. The young fellow is caught in the net of the vast purges of the mid-1930's. Terror-stricken ex-friends denounce him. It all adds up to a fat NKVD dossier, a six-year sentence to heavy labor, and an odyssey that leads through the prisons of Leningrad to the labor camps and gold mines of Siberia.

That's what happened to Vladimir Petrov. That is the story he tells under the somewhat gaudy title "Soviet Gold." Not a very unusual story in the Soviet State of today. But one that needs telling, over and over.

I wonder who will read this book. It is long, repetitious, terrifying, and depressing. I remember how the Great American Public closed its ears to the stories of German concentration camps, from the time the Nazis came to power until the day American troops entered Buchenwald and Dachau. With the sophistication of the naive the horrors of the Nazi State were shrugged off as the exaggerated horror tales of emigrés with a grudge. From Petrov's evidence, the Bolshevik State appears to be running the Nazis a very close second.

Petrov quotes a camp official's estimate that there are some eight million forced laborers in the Soviet Union. His testimony confirms evidence compiled elsewhere, notably in David J. Dallin's "Forced Labor in the Soviet Union." But Petrov supplies incidents, shocking details of camp life, beatings, and slow death, isolated instances of friendliness, the acts of an arbitrary regime that seeks to substitute terror for inefficiency and incompetence.

I suppose the Voice of America's Russian-language radio broadcasts might include chapters from this book in its much-jammed transmission over the Iron Curtain. But will they be believed? Will those Soviet citizens who have never experienced life in Stalin's prisons and labor camps recognize the truth of this eyewitness story? Or will they turn away, as the Germans are still turning away from the horrible truth of

Nazi inhumanities? Will they quiet their own fears with a shrug and a phrase about "capitalist propaganda"?

Vladimir Petrov made his way to the United States during the war, by way of Europe. He is now on the faculty of Yale University. He was a student at the Leningrad Engineering Institute until his arrest in 1935. He is now thirty-four years old. Looking back, he wonders "how a man could pass, relatively unharmed, through all the experiences that I have endured." Petrov's early faith in the Soviet system has been replaced by a hatred for that system, although he "retained the ability to distinguish the passive carriers of the Soviet system from its true movers."

The book contains several illuminating passages. The author gives an interesting second-hand account of Soviet techniques designed to make men incriminate themselves in public testimony. It is a useful contribution toward solution of the lasting mystery of the Moscow trials. Petrov also recounts his meeting with a young science fanatic, a psychiatrist who followed NKVD orders in studying methods of creating insanity in prisoners. He describes the various nuances in prison society, the privileged position of the common criminals above that of political prisoners—another parallel to the Nazi concentration-camp pattern.

The author keeps his personal bitterness out of the book. There are only a few sentences that summarize his own views. He considers prison camps not "as a place where innocent people are tortured or criminals are punished, but as a place in which millions of the most ordinary citizens live in accordance with the basic laws of the Soviet State." (Camp jargon, with bitter irony, described those prisoners whom mental and physical exhaustion had placed in a state of moronic indifference as "dokhoydyagas" or "arrivists": those who have arrived at the Socialism, "the finished" type of citizen in the Socialist society.)

Ablely translated by Mirra Ginsburg, the book is a powerful indictment of Soviet society, a frightening revelation of totalitarian inhumanity in our time.

Martin Ebon, who conducts a course on "Revolutionary Theories and Tactics of Communism" at the New School for Social Research in New York, is the author of "World Communism Today."

Fiction. Two books reviewed this week deserve to be read by every one who can be stirred by the work of a great story-teller and stylist, or by an intensely dramatic novel by a little-known writer. It is a paradox of contemporary literature that William Faulkner's works are not read by the masses at home, while critics abroad rank him as perhaps the greatest of our living writers. "Knight's Gambit," his eighteenth book, a collection of short stories, may serve to introduce him to a large number of readers who only know him through his reputation. The distinguished novel is "The Cry and the Covenant," by Morton Thompson. It is about one of the great discoverers and martyrs of medicine, who a century ago traced the deadly ravages of childbed fever to the infectious hands of the doctors in the Vienna hospital in which he served.

Loyalty & Tiresias of Yoknapatawpha

KNIGHT'S GAMBIT. By William Faulkner. New York: Random House. 246 pp. \$2.75.

By HOWARD MUMFORD JONES

ACCORDING to the list of Faulkner's books printed in this volume, "Knight's Gambit" is the eighteenth to appear. It is also the third collection of short stories so denominated. The book is composed of five such pieces and one narrative of the dimensions dear to Henry James—"Knight's Gambit," which gives its name to the collection. The copyright entries run from 1932 to 1949, two of them being entered by the Curtis Publishing Company. These facts suggest that the book covers two decades of work and includes fiction tailored for popular periodical reading. But not all of the volume is so tailored.

There are, it seems to me, three unifying elements in the book. The first and most obvious is, in a way, hardest to state. It is the simple, shining fact that Faulkner possesses that primitive endowment of story-telling—narrative power. This power is sometimes lacking in famous writers who have produced novels of historical importance, Goethe and James Joyce being cases in point; and it is sometimes found in writers despised or neglected by criticism, such as Dumas, Conan Doyle, Sienkiewicz, H. Rider Haggard. A novel by Meredith, Dostoevsky, or Virginia Woolf may hold us by its richness of texture, its wit, its sagacity, its insight, but it will not hold us in the way that "A Tale of Two Cities" or "Barchester Towers" or "Victory" holds us. Now the power of endlessly exciting the curiosity—the naive curiosity—of the reader may, indeed, be a primitive

power; it may be the possession of writers undistinguished for philosophy, for style, for characterization, but no fictionist was ever worse off for having it, even though scores of critics and novelists have sheltered themselves behind Dr. Johnson's dictum that only a fool would read "Clarissa Harlowe" for the story. Only a fool will complain when a highly competent writer tells a story. Faulkner has the primitive (if you like, the primary) power of story-telling. He communicates curiosity and excitement, he teases expectation, he lures and withholds, gives and refrains. He makes you want to fit all the pieces of the narrative puzzle together.

In one sense the stories in this book are mystery stories. That is, a murder is committed or prevented in each, and the problem of the tale is to assess the exact quality of emotional loyalty, once it is found, which, buried deep in the past, is the ultimate force leading on or preventing catastrophe. It will at once be said that the writer of such stories must as a matter of course have this mysterious power of narrative. But narrative power is not synonymous with plot. Such is the mediocrity of most mystery tales, they cannot be read twice, whereas "The Three Musketeers" or "Pickwick Papers" or "The Old Wives' Tale" can be read not only twice but many times. The Faulkner stories can also be read more than once because, even after

the little mystery is solved, curiosity is not satiated. The reader remains curious, because Faulkner is curious, about the strange, speechless vagaries of human loyalty.

These are, in fact, studies in loyalty, sometimes of loyalty on a barbaric plane, and they illustrate (or at least the three or four best of them illustrate) both the terrifying and the majestic possibilities of human affection. But what is our best wisdom about human affection? This question is the second element tying the book together. The county attorney, Uncle Gavin, appears in each tale. Through his eyes or his agency the narrative unfolds. Sometimes Uncle Gavin is not much more than a variant on the amateur detective, so much smarter than the law. But Faulkner does not intend him to be the Sherlock Holmes of Jefferson, Mississippi; he intends him to be also the Tiresias of Yoknapatawpha County, the Ancient One, older and wiser than the law. Wiser than justice. Wiser than affection. This suggestion of supernal pity holds the book together.

The third unifying force is atmosphere created by style. In the old-fashioned sense (a sense that will remain when critical novelities now fashionable are dead) Faulkner is one of the *grands rhétoriciens*. He loves language and he abuses it. He can be bad as only the stylist can be bad, as in: "Because it is only in literature that the paradoxical and even mutually negating anecdotes in the history of a human heart can be juxtaposed and annealed by art into verisimilitude and credibility." This stumbling statement of a creed is atrocious as only Mark Twain or Browning or Whitman can be atrocious. But it is only the negative pole of a mighty positive, and if one can quote a sentence in a review, one cannot excerpt a scene. Yet the brooding power of the opening of "Hand Upon the Waters," the metallic (and comic) fascination of Captain Gualdres in "Knight's Gambit," the scabby scene of the governor pardoning convicts in "Monk"—these wonderfully sketched elements are products of the same rhetorical force. A slow, rich fog seems to pour out of this prose, this continual and effortless notation, this fecund honesty which transcends the at times occasional sentimentality, the cheapness, the commercial quality.

The reader who has been put off by Faulkner's reputation for obscurity or for horror (and some are so put off) will find this collection a good first step in comprehending a powerful and uneven genius.



Slain by Unwashed Hands

THE CRY AND THE COVENANT.
By Morton Thompson. New York:
Doubleday & Co. 469 pp. \$3.50.

By EDMUND FULLER

HERE is a noble book, deeply conceived and powerfully written. It is the debut of one of the most impressive and thoughtful novelists to appear in recent seasons. Mr. Thompson is not an author of "promise" but of immediate, present fulfillment. He has built his novel stone by stone with fidelity and devotion. The labor involved was stupendous.

Ignaz Philipp Semmelweis, a Hungarian doctor, confessed to one of his friends: "I've got a sickness . . . It's incurable. It's pity." Out of that pity grew tragedy and hope and the saving of human lives.

In 1836 the young Semmelweis went from his native city of Budapest to Vienna. He was diffident toward all professions and began to study law in a desultory way. When, for the sake of a thrill, he and some friends were taken by a medical student to witness a dissection, he experienced an irresistible call to medicine.

He was an annoying student. He



Morton Thompson — "immediate, present fulfillment."

asked questions and such a thing was never done; one listened. To the young Viennese students he was a hick. But he asked the eminent Dr. Rokitansky such questions as he had never heard before and Rokitansky took him into his home to live. And Dr. Skoda and Dr. Hebra, brilliant men, also saw in him something rare.

When Semmelweis began hospital work, childbed fever was the scourge of the lying-in wards. Its fatal incidence never sank below 3 or 4 per cent, more often hovered at 25 to 35 per cent, and sometimes soared in terrible outbursts to 100 per cent, forcing the closing of clinics. This was true in Vienna and Paris and Prague and all the great hospitals of the world. The most eminent doctors agreed that nothing could be done about it—ever. They advanced some thirty causes, ranging from "cosmic-telluric influences" and "miasmas" to the shock to modesty entailed by the process of giving birth.

Years before Lister and Pasteur were to do their work in antiseptics and the germ theory, Semmelweis, his humane and sensitive spirit harrowed by pity for the terrified, dying women, toiled endlessly in the face of mockery to solve the riddle. Through a tragic accident to a dear friend he awoke to the truth that doctors and students who went from the dissecting table to the delivery room with unwashed hands were slaying women. And soon he found that the mysterious transmission was not merely from the dead to the living but that from any festering or putrid wounds or diseases death could be carried by doctors to entire wards full of pregnant women. The

dread puerperal fever was what we might call today simple blood poisoning.

Semmelweis demonstrated that by meticulous washing of the hands and dipping them into chlorine disinfectant, childbed fever could be eliminated almost entirely. Clean instruments, clean sheets—the most primitive concepts of cleanliness completed the conquest.

Except for his loyal masters, Rokitansky, Skoda, and Hebra; a few staunch friends and students; a few scattered converts, the medical profession regarded his theory as an affront. His reward for eliminating puerperal fever from the Vienna Lying-in Hospital was to be discharged and repudiated. His washings and cleanliness were abandoned: the death rate soared. For there were private reputations, pet theories, little vanities to be nurtured. It is always easier to denounce the new than to risk endorsing it. Not for many years, not in his lifetime, would thousands of lives be saved by widespread adoption of his simple teaching.

It is appalling to read this vivid and vigorous account of a fight against ignorance, superstition, and bigotry in a supposed science. Galileo experienced it, but human lives were not at stake. Pasteur and Lister experienced it, but triumphed in their lifetimes. With Semmelweis it was an unremitting personal tragedy with a denouement of utter horror.

Mr. Thompson's use of this material is masterful. His extension of the scene to involve the whole social fabric of an era lends it vast scope and transcends the medical theme. He has a wonderful sense of the body and its "cellular intelligence." His intuitive insights into the mysteries of birth and conception, his sense of their meaning to a woman, are remarkable. As artist he sees to the heart of this great commonplace of life, and its companion death: the beginning and end of each of us; unknown to all of us. The discourse beginning "Whence comes this life?" which draws Semmelweis into his profession, is sheer brilliance.

Let no one say, because of its shocking clinical fidelity and vast research, that it is merely a quasi-novel, containing too much of biography or fact. It is only that it is rooted in truth as every worth-while novel must be. Its form is dramatic and creative. It purges with pity and terror. It has eloquence and color; even humor in the midst of grimness.

There is deep satisfaction in reading this book: the satisfaction of work of purpose and dedication; of work well done—and worth doing.

FRASER YOUNG'S LITERARY CRYPT: No. 333

A cryptogram is writing in cipher. Every letter is part of a code that remains constant throughout the puzzle. Answer No. 333 will be found in the next issue.

SLAAJ TD ESP XLY

HSZ SLES YGPC VYZHY

HSLE TE TD EZ ELDEP

ZQ QLXP — EZ SLGP

TE TD L AFRLEZCJ,

EZ HLYE TE TD L

SPWW. —A. S. DELYSZAP.

Answer to Literary Crypt No. 332

Sleeping or waking, we hear not the airy footsteps of the strange things that almost happen.

—N. HAWTHORNE.

College Days, in Detail

THE PRIMITIVE. By Feike Feikema.
New York: Doubleday & Co. 460
pp. \$3.50.

By WALTER HAVIGHURST

THIS long, strenuous, and confused novel begins in a background familiar to readers of Mr. Feikema's earlier books—the Frisian colony in Northwest Iowa. It begins with two men, one of them a giant of eighteen, sawing down a tree. That job is completed in ten pages and nothing that follows is as real as the crash of the cottonwood crown. For the giant, Thurs Wraldson, goes away to college, and Mr. Feikema seems to lose his virtue as a writer when he follows Thurs to a Michigan city and to the dormitory-, library-, gymnasium-, and classroom-life of Christian College.

Thurs was at home in the Siouxland country, but he becomes grotesque in the confined world of college. The novel plods through his experiences, season by season, semester by semester, listing every course he took, every teacher he listened to, the scores of the basketball games, the subjects of his English themes, the text of every "note" that he passed to the girl ahead of him in chapel. It even enumerates the dormitory wash-room facilities.

"Whatever is felt upon the page without being specifically named there," Willa Cather once wrote, "that, one might say, is created." Of this kind of creation the pages of "The Primitive" contain nothing. There is a kind of dogged endurance in the writing; occasionally there is some power of observation and description; there is no trace of the power of selection and suggestion.



Feike Feikema—"an undergraduate's hunger."

"The Primitive" seems to offer Thurs Wraldson, with his huge strength and formless yearnings, as a prototype of American youth growing into manhood. College brings him both success and failure. He becomes not only a basketball star, but the campus literary light and a composer of music, with his eyes set on New York at the novel's end. He finds steadfast friendship with the iconoclastic Huse Starring, and he hopelessly loves tiny Hero Bernlef. He wrestles with temptation and he gropes toward knowledge and self-expression. He is painfully serious, yet it is difficult for a reader to feel seriously about him.

In fact, it is difficult to be sure of the intent of this novel. Despite its forewords from Homer, the Bible, and the Talmud, despite its orotund "Prelude" and its repeated searchings of Thurs's bewildered soul, "The Primitive" is a book of grotesques. Many passages read like inept burlesque (Thurs's conferences with his teachers, the church and chapel services) and most of the characterizations are caricatures. A clumsy humor seems to have gone into the making not only of the college faculty but also of Thurs's schoolmates—Evo Ampere, Spinoza Meer, Ingersoll Thirteen, Phil Snortebull (these are not nicknames)—who live in the men's dormitory called the Rooster Brooder. Along with these caricatures are some characters who seem to be regarded highly. But it is hard to tell where the grotesquerie ends. Professor Witsingbern, who sets Thurs on the way to being a writer, allows the big freshman to read his unpublished novel, a bulky story of a young scholar whose mistress "left him for the King of her Hymen." The song which Thurs composed "and saw that it was good" ends with "The bleeding of the lifeblood from the pallid wax of the body-comb." In one paragraph Thurs mumbles "Yup" and "Wull," and in the next he refers to "the shattered prism poetry [of T. S. Eliot] in which the idea is presented so clearly that even the medium is affected." Mr. Feikema names musicians straight—Dvorák, Debussy, Ravel—but he calls T. S. Eliot "B. S. Idiom" and lists his contemporaries as Ida Sweet-Accent Ilay, Maemy Growll, i'm i'm Comin', Don d'Peace-loss, Sindare Fearless, and Fitz Shot Hiswad.

There are perhaps two novels here—a burlesque of college, with all the gaucherie, pretensions, and eccentrics of a narrow sectarian campus, and a novel of an undergraduate's hunger and discovery. But when the two are hopelessly mixed up together, not interwoven but confused, there is really no novel at all.



Alberto Moravia—"some tortuous erotica."

Primroses & Poverty

THE WOMAN OF ROME. By Alberto Moravia. New York: Farrar, Straus & Co. 433 pp. \$3.

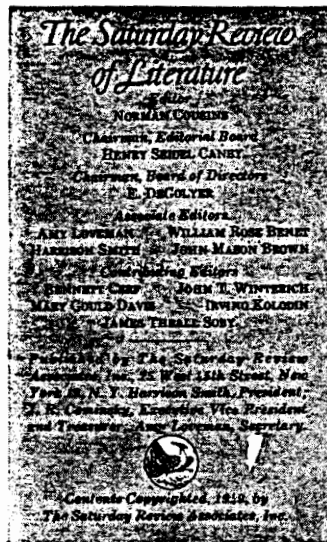
By SIEGFRIED MANDEL

ALBERTO MORAVIA was introduced to the American reader by an awkward translation from the Italian in 1932 of his "The Indifferent Ones." Its reception was mixed, but loudest to protest was a Boston review which complained that nothing in the novel was left to the imagination. Perhaps that is as good a way as any of defining a naturalistic novel—one that leaves nothing to the imagination in the study of a character or a situation. "The Woman of Rome," or the several autobiographical years of a reformed prostitute in Mussolini's Italy, omits nothing that is relevant to its subject and consequently presents a raw slice of life.

In this fluent translation by Lydia Holland, young Adriana makes a spirited bid for membership in the distinguished gallery of loose women whose confessions have made history in literature. She resembles most closely Defoe's open-hearted Roxana, accepting the cards dealt her by life without bitterness or shame, although she lacks Roxana's sense of humor and vitality.

Trapped into a poverty-stricken marriage, Adriana's mother wishes to have her daughter profit by her lesson. Since a poor family to her means slavery and infrequent pleasures, she insists that Adriana regard her beauty as a capital asset, and launches her

(Continued on page 29)



What Ideas Are Safe?

The following guest editorial is by Henry Steele Commager, professor of history at Columbia University and author of "Majority Rule and Minority Rights," "Theodore Parker," and "The Growth of the American Republic" (with Samuel E. Morison). His "The American Mind in the Twentieth Century" will be published by Yale University Press next spring. In recent years Mr. Commager's concern for democratic freedoms has been effectively expressed in his writings.

IT is the cardinal failing of much of the current discussion of loyalty and of human rights that it addresses itself to the narrow question of right—almost of legal right. Does the legislature have a right to require loyalty oaths? Do school boards have a right to purge faculties of Communists or subversives, or to purge books from libraries? Do Congressional committees have a right to require witnesses to testify about their political affiliations? Do FBI investigators have the right to inquire broadly into the character and activities of Governmental employees? Has the Attorney-General a right to compile lists of subversive organizations? Or, conversely, do men have a right to Government employment, or teachers to academic immunity, or publicists to speak their mind on all subjects?

Most of these debates have ended in sterility, as they are bound to end. For men will differ, sincerely, over this question of right, and there are no conclusive answers.

What is wrong here? What is it that makes for our confusion?

That confusion is a basic one. It is, if you will, a philosophic confusion. We are confused because we are not asking the really essential questions.

And what are the essential questions? They are questions that the pragmatists require us to answer. They are questions that look not to abstract rights, but to actual consequences. "The pragmatic method," William James wrote, "starts from the postulate that there is no difference of truth that doesn't make a difference of fact somewhere; and it seeks to determine the meaning of all differences of opinion by making the discussion hinge as soon as possible upon some practical, or particular issue."

What, then, are the practical consequences of the attack upon independence of thought, non-conformity, heterodoxy, radicalism, which is now under way? What kind of society will it create? What climate of opinion will it encourage? What will happen to our science, our scholarship, our political thought and conduct, even our morals, if this program continues and succeeds?

The first and most obvious consequence is that we will arrive sooner or later—and I think sooner—at an official standard of conformity, orthodoxy, and loyalty. For if you are going to silence or punish men for disloyalty you must first determine what is loyalty. If you are going to apply Mr. J. Edgar Hoover's "easy test" of a subversive organization: "does it have a consistent record of support of the American viewpoint?" you must determine officially what is the American viewpoint. If you are going to dismiss men for membership in subversive organizations, you must establish what are non-subversive activities and organizations. If you are going to discourage or silence dangerous ideas, you must establish what are safe ideas.

This was the position that President Lowell took, during World War I, when he refused to interfere with the teaching of members of the Harvard faculty: if we pronounce certain ideas disloyal, he said, we in effect stand behind all the ideas we do not pronounce disloyal. It is the position Mr. Conant has taken in a recent situation where super-patriots tried to force him to discipline members of his faculty.

Their position is a logical one; it is indeed the only logical one; and it illuminates our whole problem. Eventually we shall have to establish some official standards of orthodoxy in

thought and conduct. Who is to set the standards? Who is to determine what is orthodox, what is loyal? In short, if we drive out those ideas we think dangerous—even those, in the words of Oliver Wendell Holmes, that we loathe and think fraught with death, we must make clear to all what ideas are safe.

Now the fact is that no ideas are safe. That is a consideration many otherwise intelligent men overlook. "Every idea is an incitement," said Holmes, and John Dewey has written:

Let us admit the case of the conservative; if we once start thinking, no one can guarantee where we shall come out, except that many objects, ends, and institutions are surely doomed. Every thinker puts some portion of an apparently stable world in peril, and no one can wholly predict what will emerge in its place.

If we establish a standard of safe thinking, we will end up with no thinking at all. That is the only "safe" way, and that is, needless to say, the most precarious, dangerous of all ways.

The second consequence is a very practical one, and it is one whose effects are already being felt in many quarters. It is this: that first-rate men cannot and will not work under the conditions set by those who tremble at original ideas. Scholars who have to run the gauntlet of legislative investigations of their thoughts, their teaching, their writing, and their associations, will look elsewhere for the exercise of their talents: it will be interesting to see, ten years from now, whether those colleges and uni-

Atomic Age Fables



XXIII: A Dark Absolute

IN THE land of Absolute, where everyone and everything is perfect, there is no light at night.

The annals of the Absolutions record that they once discovered the electric light, but as is known, the perfect electric light burns in a perfect vacuum.

Absolute is in the dark. —J. S.

versities that have purged their faculties have in fact attracted stronger men to their institutions or a better student body. Young men and women of independent mind, contemplating a career, will hesitate before exposing themselves to the kind of examinations required for entrance into the public-school system. The scholars who are competent to write textbooks will not submit to the straitjacket imposed by school boards, the result being that textbooks will be left to the incompetents willing to conform. The Government service, too, will suffer—as it has already suffered. The distinguished chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission has recently warned us in most solemn manner that

The conditions of work in the Federal Government are not attractive. They are becoming increasingly less attractive to many of the very men of managerial and technical skills upon whom our world atomic leadership depends... for deep-seated reasons. The difficulties are... fundamental. They consist in the growing evidence that a tendency toward detailed Congressional supervision of this and other essential technical undertakings make the doing of a creditable job quite impossible... When the public task undertaken is made impossible of accomplishment by the increased worsening of the conditions surrounding Government service, and men and organizations find their efforts quite futile, they then will leave that service, or decline to enter.

In short, if we persist in setting vexatious and impossible standards of conformity of thought, we will lose our leadership in atomic research—and in other fields of research just as crucial.

The third consequence of persistence in our present course grows out of the first two. It is the gradual development in the United States of the kind of society in which freedom of inquiry will not flourish, in which originality will not flourish, in which criticism will not flourish. This is no alarmist prophecy. It is a development already under way. Already civil servants fear to read certain books and magazines. Already teachers fear to discuss certain subjects in the classroom. Already most men hesitate to join good causes, to sign petitions which they otherwise approve, for there is always the suspicion that they might catch the infection of guilt by association. Mr. Raymond Fosdick has described what is happening:

If you sign a petition to admit colored people to public-housing developments, if you favor fair-employment practices or are con-



cerned about civil liberties, if you fight for the protection of the rights of the foreign-born, if you oppose religious prejudice or Jim Crowism, if you sanction cultural exchange with foreign countries... if you take any point of view which involves the implementation of the Declaration of Independence... you are apt to be suspected in some circles as a knowing participant in the Communist front or at the very least a witless dupe of Moscow's hypnotic influences.

A miasma of suspicion is spreading over the land, and all of us, willy-nilly, breathe its foul fumes.

We cannot have a society half slave and half free; nor can we have thought half slave and half free. If we create an atmosphere in which men fear to think independently, inquire fearlessly, express themselves freely, we will in the end create the kind of society in which men no longer care to think independently or to inquire fearlessly. If we put a premium on conformity we will, in the end, get conformity. It will not be a process of some heavy-handed Gestapo striking down independent scholars and scientists. It is more subtle than that. It will be a process that begins in every home, in every schoolroom, in every editorial office, in every pulpit. It will be a process that develops slowly and almost intangibly—until we have created a

community where men simply don't make the effort that is required of the non-conformist; where non-conformists are not rewarded as heretofore they have been rewarded in our country; where inertia and apathy take the place of energy and independence.

Such a society is doomed to destruction. We have had, in our time, examples of what happens when governments insist on conformity. We have had examples of what happens when science and scholarship and governmental service are all required to follow a predetermined line. There are many reasons why the Nazis lost the war, but all who are familiar with the internal history of Germany in the last twenty years know that one crucially important reason was that the Hitler regime drove out or silenced its ablest scientists and scholars, and that it crushed that spirit of inquiry, criticism, and dissent so important in time of war. General Halder has recently written a little book—it is a best seller in Germany now—in which he points out all the failings of Hitler as war leader: how Hitler and his henchmen interfered in the conduct of war on every level, how they diverted scientific research from essentials to pet schemes, how they intimidated the military brains of the nation to the point where none dared dissent. He should know. He is one of the exhibits.

A nation which, in the name of loyalty or of patriotism or of any sincere and high-sounding ideal, discourages criticism and dissent, and puts a premium on acquiescence and conformity, is headed for disaster.

And this is why it is so perilous to suppose some conflict between loyalty and freedom. Freedom is the basic foundation of true loyalty. Loyalty in turn enhances freedom. The case against the conscription of thought is not primarily the case of the individual right, or of the abstract right to speak or inquire, to assemble or associate. It is rather the case of the welfare of society as a whole. It is the commonwealth we must cherish, and the commonwealth can prosper only where the human mind and spirit are left free.

It is later than we think, and if we allow our intellectual and emotional energies to be drained off into frivolous channels, we will find that we have lost the main channel. That is the channel that leads to truth. It is well to keep in mind that even the Biblical injunction to seek truth emphasizes the consequences of that search. The truth shall make you free.

—HENRY STEELE COMMAGER.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Just to Say "Arigato"

SIR: When I read the responses to "Hiroshima Four Years Later" [SRL Sept. 17] in the succeeding issues of *The Saturday Review* I felt as near to crying as anyone could get.

It was two years ago that the ship that was repatriating my comrades and myself from Burma docked at Hiroshima. Most of us had been away from Japan for quite a while, the average being six and a half years. We had heard about the bombing of our city and knew what to expect. However, there were some things we had not heard about.

As we stepped onto the pier from the barges that transferred us from the ship the young girls from the city came forward to welcome us back again. They looked so rosy and refreshing. It was not until our excitement had calmed down somewhat that we started to notice little things about these cheerful girls.

The girl who was serving me tea had a scar on her cheek. That pretty girl who was smiling and saying "Yokuro-san" ("We are obliged to you") had a long burn on her arm. The girl next to her who had the bouquet of flowers limped as she moved around handing the posies to the former servicemen.

One could only say "Arigato" ("Thank you").

I was repatriated a year too late to meet my younger brother. He died of TB and malnutrition. In Japan to get TB was to get your death warrant. Streptomycin has been discovered and there is a faint hope. But streptomycin is so hard to come by, and nutritious food is still very scarce.

I have been in America for three weeks now, yet I cannot get used to all the rich food that you eat daily: milk, butter, sugar, jam, hamburgers with everything, doughnuts, etc. One doughnut so fills me that I cannot eat anything else for breakfast. The lunch served at the cafeterias are like the New Year's dinner we had at home. At present I am a student at the Western Michigan College of Education in Kalamazoo.

I should like to thank all the people who responded so generously to your article.

It makes me happy. The world is good to live in.

It brings hope to millions of people, not only in Hiroshima or Japan, but the whole world over.

ALBERT OKADA.

Kalamazoo, Mich.

Hiroshima "Moral Adoptions"

SIR: ... I should like to be responsible for a girl about ten or eleven, one with a mind capable of college education. I should also like to know about her personally so that I can write or send little gifts.

BERTHA WARD.

Cincinnati, O.

SIR: ... I would like to morally adopt a little girl ... keep in touch



THROUGH HISTORY WITH J. WESLEY SMITH

"But these ridiculous fairy stories, Aesop. Why not spend your time on serious literary endeavor that will last?"

and be responsible for her, though as I am unmarried it may not be possible to adopt her legally.

PHYLLIS M. GRAHAM.

New York, N. Y.

SIR: ... We would like to know the name of the child we're caring for. This not to check up on anybody. But we'd like to supplement our contribution with food, clothes, whatever our little adopted child could use and appreciate directly.

WARD AND BARBARA KEYN.

Los Angeles, Calif.

SIR: ... Please, tell us what we can do to help an orphan. What do they need most? We are earning money so we can buy things to send. We are making potholders to sell and we are going to have a museum and charge admission.

THE FOURTH GRADE,
Roger Wolcott School.

Wilson, Conn.

SIR: ... May I add my note of profound gratitude to the many others applauding this small atonement toward a monstrous military "expedient" for which we, as a nation, are guilty. It is comforting to know that somewhere on this globe in the year 1949 the sins of the fathers are not being visited on their children.

ETTA DELSON.

Los Angeles, Calif.

Drawing Power

SIR: As co-editors of the new *Magazine of Fantasy*, just published by Lawrence Spivak, J. Francis McComas and I wish to pay humble, awed tribute to the drawing power of the SRL.

A few weeks ago Mr. Benét kindly ran a one-paragraph advance notice

of the magazine in *THE PHOENIX* Nest. We were immediately snowed under by more mail than we could handle—queries, MSS., subscription orders ... even orders accompanied by checks and cash—and an occasional delayed snowflake still turns up in almost every mail.

Even editors as inured as we are to strange and imaginative happenings find something fantastic in the sway which your magazine obviously exercises over readers everywhere. (We had SRL-inspired mail from most of the forty-eight states, plus Canada and Mexico.) We salute you with respect and gratitude.

ANTHONY BOUCHER.

Berkeley, Calif.

Most Vicious Weapon

SIR: The comments of Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., on the letters by Dalton Trumbo, Albert Maltz, Joy Davidman, and Leonard Spigelgass [LETTERS, Aug. 20] are more than faintly nauseating to this constant reader.

One can only inquire of him: does he want the Messrs. Trumbo and Maltz and their colleagues to go to jail for not having answered the celebrated sixty-four-dollar question? Implicit in his remarks, this would seem to be his considered hope.

But it is in his rebuttal to Mr. Spigelgass (with no apparent opportunity for counter-argument) that Schlesinger really exposes himself and the inevitable logic of his position. Certainly, Mr. Spigelgass reveals in his letter that he is an honest liberal, a middle-of-the-roader, who is more than casually indignant with what he regards as irresponsible criticism of the Hollywood community by

(Continued on page 24)

SRL Readers and "Moral Adoptions"

EDITOR'S NOTE: The following represents the complete list—as of October 28—of Saturday Review readers who are participating in one form or another in the plan for "moral adoptions" of Hiroshima children orphaned by the atomic explosion. The volume of the response promises to include under the plan every child at the Yamashita Orphanage. The Rev. Kiyoshi Tanimoto, of the Nagaregawa Church of Christ (one of the principal figures in John Hersey's "Hiroshima"), has expressed the hope that SRL readers might wish to adopt children from other Hiroshima orphanages. In all, four Hiroshima orphanages

number some 450 children. Of these, ninety-two are at Mrs. Yamashita's—leaving about 360 orphans eligible for "moral adoption."

An account has been opened at the Chase National Bank in New York, which has a branch in Japan, under the name of the Yamashita Orphanage Fund. In writing to Mayor Hamai, we have suggested that a board of trustees be organized to administer the fund, with himself as chairman. We have also suggested that Mrs. Yamashita have photographs of the children sent here for forwarding to their new American families.

MARY ABASCAL, Laguna Beach, Calif.	MRS. SAMUEL DIAMOND, New York, N. Y.	MICHAEL A. HESSEBERG, New York, N. Y.	MRS. SHIPPEN LEWIS, Philadelphia, Pa.	M. COWI RIDER, JR., Richmond, Va.
MRS. HERBERT ABRAHAM, New York, N. Y.	MRS. W. F. DIERKING, Mason City, Ia.	EVERETT HIBBARD, Cincinnati, O.	SAMUEL B. LINCOLN, Bristolboro, Vt.	MABEL F. ROGERS, Schenectady, N. Y.
DAVID W. ANGEVINE, North Kansas City, Mo.	WILLIAM DORE, College Park, Ga.	MRS. BERNICE ESPT HICKS, Denver, Colo.	MRS. H. L. LLOYD, Green's Farms, Conn.	MARIAN & HELEN ROSENBERG, Brooklyn, N. Y.
MRS. CHARLES BURGESS ARTHUR, Kent, O.	R. E. DOWNING, Chicago, Ill.	REV. H. RALPH HIGGINS, Grand Rapids, Mich.	KATHLEEN M. LORD, Lake Forest, Ill.	ROBERT W. ROUNDS, Owensboro, N. Y.
MRS. DWIGHT K. BARTLETT, Providence, R. I.	MR. & MRS. THOMAS F. DUNN, JR., Oak Park, Ill.	MARJORIE HOAG, Greenville, Mich.	ROBERT M. MADIGAN, V. A. Hospital, Minneapolis, Minn.	MRS. CHARLES BOWAN, Steamboat Rock, Ia.
R. E. BARTON, San Francisco, Calif.	ELIZABETH DUSENBERY, Independence, Wis.	MR. & MRS. HENRY HOAVIS, Council Bluffs, Ia.	MRS. LOUIS MADISON, Newell, Ia.	PAULINE A. RUTTER, Hamden, Conn.
MARGARET BARRETT, Akron, O.	DORIS EDWARDS, Buffalo, N. Y.	PAUL & MARGARET HOLTZ, Point Richmond, Calif.	LAWRENCE L. MALIS, Philadelphia, Pa.	EDITH SAITO, Philadelphia, Pa.
MRS. JOHN BEATY, Manzanola, Colo.	LIBBY ELDRIDGE, Webster Groves, Mo.	REV. GRAHAM HUNTER, Fullerton, Calif.	MRS. BURTON C. MALLORY, Hingham, Mass.	MRS. MARJORIE M. SCHWARTZ, Aubert, Calif.
WALTER P. BECKER, Westfield, N. J.	F. K. EMERY, Minneapolis, Minn.	NORMA E. INTRAVIA, San Francisco, Calif.	CYNTHIA J. MALLORY, Hingham, Mass.	JULIUS SELIGSON, New York, N. Y.
RUDOLPH BERRYMAN, Omaha, Neb.	ESTHER EVANS, Durham, N. C.	RUTH IVES, White Plains, N. Y.	GRACE M. MAYER, New York, N. Y.	HERMAN SIMON, Schroon Lake, N. Y.
STEPHEN R. BEST, Cambridge, Mass.	BETHEL FITE, University, Ala.	ADRIAN H. JENNINGS, JR., FREDRICK JENSEN, U. S. Marine Hosp., Neponset, N. Y.	ANN MAZUR, Brooklyn, N. Y.	KATHERINE SIMON, San Francisco, Calif.
MARIANNE BONWIT, Berkeley, Calif.	CHARLES R. FLETCHER, Maquoketa, Iowa.	ALICE J. JOHNSON, Ellensburg, Wash.	MRS. J. B. MCCLELLAND, Ames, Ia.	BARBARA M. SMITH, Chicago, Ill.
DOROTHY M. BOYINGTON, Northfield, Ill.	REV. CHARLES C. FORMAN, Hubbardston, Mass.	CORA BARBITT JOHNSON, San Diego, Calif.	DANIEL B. MCCONAUGHY, Parkville, Mo.	MRS. JOHN H. SNOODY, Los Angeles, Calif.
MRS. HAROLD E. BRADFORD, Centre Hall, Pa.	THE FOURTH GRADE, Rorer Wolcott School, Wilson, Conn.	DR. & MRS. DAVID H. JOHNSON, Tacoma, Wash.	BLAINE MCKUSICK, Wilmington, Del.	MR. & MRS. RHODES R. STABLEY, Indiana, Pa.
MR. & MRS. NORMAN F. BRYDAN, Essex Falls, N. Y.	PHONE FOX, Mt. Vernon, N. Y.	MR. & MRS. I. JONTEZ, Cleveland, O.	GRACE M. MESERVE, Providence, R. I.	MRS. ROBERT S. STARRIED, St. Louis, Mo.
MR. & MRS. RALPH P. BUDGMAN, Detroit, Mich.	BARBARA FRALICH, Marion, O.	MARGARET JOSLYN, Chicago, Ill.	ISABEL MILLER, Haines, Alaska.	MARYAL STONE, Swarthmore, Pa.
HENRY BURGEE, Cambridge, Mass.	MRS. FRANK J. FROST, Palo Alto, Calif.	MRS. WILLIAM R. JULIAN, Seal Beach, Calif.	MRS. ROBERT A. MILLIKAN, Pasadena, Calif.	BARBARA STONCEPHER, Ann Arbor, Mich.
WALTON BUTTERFIELD, Epe, N. Y.	BEN W. FUSON, Parkville, Mo.	RICHARD C. KONT KAMP, Chicago, Ill.	VERA PECK MILLIS, Carmel, Calif.	BETTIE SUMMERS, Baltimore, Md.
MR. & MRS. JOHN U. CALKINS, Berkeley, Calif.	MRS. CECIL G. GARLAND, Beaver Dams, N. Y.	ETNA KELLEY, New York, N. Y.	ARTHUR MORJE, Philadelphia, Pa.	DR. & MRS. W. P. VANDELLAN, Melton, Mass.
MRS. BETTINA B. CARTER, Pittsburgh, Pa.	MRS. W. H. GERRY, Santa Monica, Calif.	MRS. EDWARD K. KELLOGG, Roselle, N. J.	MR. & MRS. DONALD MULLEN, Lowell, Mich.	ANNE WACHTEL, New York, N. Y.
MRS. HAROLD COLE, Royal Oak, Mich.	ETTA GIBSON, MYRTLE MOORE, Menlo Park, Calif.	ELIZABETH S. KELSEY, Berkeley, Calif.	MILDRED OURLANDER, New York, N. Y.	D. JIM WALKER, Guam Army Post, Guam.
JOSEPHINE COMPTER, Bronx, N. Y.	MARGUERITE J. GIBSON, New York, N. Y.	MR. & MRS. WARD KEYN, Los Angeles, Calif.	MRS. JAMES H. PARKER, Washington, D. C.	MRS. MATT WALL, High Point, N. C.
DORIS E. COOK, Hartford, Conn.	PHYLLIS M. GRAHAM, New York, N. Y.	JOSEPH KLEIN, New York, N. Y.	REV. LAWRENCE W. PEARSON, Bloomfield Hills, Mich.	BERTHA EVANS WARD, Cincinnati, O.
MRS. ALBERT COTSWORTH, JR., Oak Park, Ill.	ERNEST F. GRIFFIN, Tarrytown, N. Y.	RUTH ANN LAEDERACH, Chicago, Ill.	EDITH M. PENNEY, Tryon, N. C.	MRS. MABEL WARREN, Laguna Beach, Calif.
MILDRED E. DAHLEN, Congress Park, Ill.	MR. & MRS. CLINTON L. GRIMES, Stillwater, Okla.	HANS LAMM, APO 696 A, c/o Postmaster, New York	MRS. SARAH HAY PETERS, Laguna Beach, Calif.	MRS. DOROTHY WENDT, Houston, Tex.
MABEL DAVIDSON, Lynchburg, Va.	MR. & MRS. CYRUS HAMLIN, Southwest Harbor, Me.	MANCHE I. LANGLEY, Portland, Ore.	SALLY PLOYANT, Seattle, Wash.	JOHN W. WHITE, New York, N. Y.
ETTA DELSON, Los Angeles, Calif.	TILTHIA RAYE HANES, Mocksville, N. C.	MRS. FRANK LAPPIN, Bridgewater, Conn.	FRANCES L. PYLE, Ann Arbor, Mich.	KARL M. WILBUR, Durham, N. C.
MRS. H. S. DENING, New City, N. Y.	MRS. MARCUS A. HARRIS, Scarsdale Manor, N. Y.	JOHN A. LEISER, Fl. Defiance, Ariz.	MALCOLM F. REED, Westfield, N. J.	JEAN A. WILSON, Berkeley, Calif.
ALICE DEVINE, New York, N. Y.	SUZANNE HART, New York, N. Y.	MRS. KURT LESSER, Washington, D. C.	EDNA M. REICHMUTH, Berkeley, Calif.	JAMES A. YAMAMOTO, Chicago, Ill.
	W. FOSTER HAYES, Harvey, Ill.	ADNEY H. LEVING, Philadelphia, Pa.	ARTHUR REITER, Caracas, Venezuela.	MR. & MRS. BURL YARBERRY, Gunterson, Colo.

(Continued from page 22)

a man who obviously does not know the community. When Mr. Schlesinger refers to a single visit to Hollywood to organize an ADA chapter, declaring, "I went to meetings at the houses of people like Melvyn Douglas and Art Arthur, and I talked to a good many genuine, anti-Communist liberals. I do not recall, however, ever having encountered Dr. Spigelgass"—he is red-baiting Mr. Spigelgass. This is the most vicious and corrupt weapon of our times. Whether he likes it or not, this places Mr. Schlesinger right alongside the Un-American Committee, which he professes to despise.

SHEPARD TRAUBE.

Ridgefield, Conn.

Editor's Note: Mr. Schlesinger replies: "Mr. Traube 'really exposes himself and the inevitable logic of his position' when he describes red baiting as 'the most vicious and corrupt weapon of our time.' He evidently agrees with Henry A. Wallace, who has declared red-baiting to be a 'criminal' practice (The New York Times, April 18, 1948)—which must mean, if one can assume that Mr. Wallace's words ever mean anything, that people who red-bait should be arrested and punished."

"I happen to believe that totalitarianism is 'the most vicious and corrupt weapon of our time.' I therefore propose to continue to Communist-bait and to Fascist-bait as a means

SCREEN

PAUL DOUGLAS
LINDA DARNELL
CELESTE HOLM
CHAS. COBURN

in

"Everybody
DOES IT"

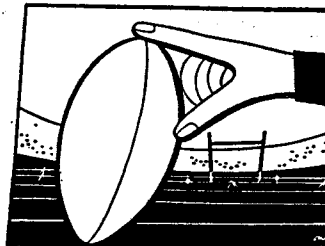
20th Century-Fox

— ON STAGE —

ETHEL WATERS
THE LANGS
BOB EVANS

• EXTRA ADDED ATTRACTION •

MARYBETH HUGHES
DAVID STREET
ROXY 7TH AVE.
& 50TH ST.



of preventing the Traubes and the Wallaces, or their counterparts on the Right, from getting enough power to do to me what their European prototypes in Russia and Germany have always done to the opposition. I find it hard to understand the psychology of a Traube, who evidently strains at the Un-American Activities Committee but swallows whole the NKVD and regards criticism of it as 'vicious and corrupt.'

"As for Mr. Traube's opening question, I regard the record of the Un-American Activities Committee under its various chairmen as foul and squalid. I have been on record for years in favor of its abolition. But I also value highly the investigative power of Congressional committees; and I know, as a student of American history, that this power has more often served liberal than reactionary ends. Two principles, both prized by liberals, are in conflict in the Trumbo-Maltz cases: the Congressional right to investigate and the individual right to political anonymity. As a layman I am content to leave the adjudication of this conflict to the Supreme Court. But I cannot suppress the feeling that if this were Fritz Kuhn and Lawrence Dennis refusing to state before a Congressional committee whether they were members of the Nazi Party, many people would be demanding their punishment who are today demanding the release of Trumbo and Maltz. After all, the Communist Party thought the Smith Act was wonderful when it was being used against Trotskyites and Fascists. It only became unconstitutional when it began to be used against themselves. Such a position is clearly beneath contempt."

Correction

SIR: The Oct. 15 SRL lists me as professor of history at Cornell University.... I am not connected with any academic institution this year and moved to Ithaca to devote my time to writing.

Ithaca, N. Y.

GEOFFREY BRUUN.

No Blundering Detected

SIR: Martin Ebon reviewing "The Vatican in World Politics" [SRL Sept. 24] said in reference to the "Spellman-Roosevelt controversy" that "official Catholicism can make public-relations blunders, just like anybody else." While it is true that I was in Europe when the Cardinal and Mrs. Roosevelt were giving public statements on the Barden Bill, I have read well and widely concerning the

incident and I never gathered the slightest inkling of any blundering on the part of the prelate. That excerpt from Mr. Ebon's review was a baldly put example of a loaded sentence if I ever saw one.

AILEEN O'GRADY.

Springfield, Mass.

Required Reading

SIR: I hope I am not too late to tell you that your editorial "Time for a Change" [SRL Sept. 17] contains the finest observations I have read in a long time on the need for new perspectives in American writing today. It should be required reading for our many young writers of great promise who are still preoccupied with the bitter fruits of war and postwar disillusionment.

Our writers must realize that man grows from hope, not from despair; that progress is made by seeking the challenge of the future, not by bewailing the mistakes of the past; that, despite what may look like overwhelming evidence to the contrary at any given moment in history, the world moves forward, not backward. Tragedy is a great element of literature, but no great literature has ever been built upon despair.

America, particularly, is still a land of hope and of great promise—but American writers throw away their chance at greatness when they permit the temporary disturbances of the present to obscure their vision of the future. There is no disgrace in being hopeful and optimistic instead of melancholy and pessimistic. The greatest of all American poets, Walt Whitman, was a prophet of confidence, of hope, of vision, who looked forward and sang no dirge for America, but sounded instead a "trumpet note ringing through the American camp."

There is need for such trumpet notes in our literature today. There is need, too, for our writers to deal simply and decently with human emotions in terms of warmth, understanding, compassion, and sympathy.

I hope that our new and talented generation of writers realizes the soundness of your reminder that "the enduring novels are those in which men and women suffer or find happiness in situations that will remain constant as long as human nature endures." Only out of such a realization can they produce a body of work worth the effort of creation.

SAMUEL GOLDWYN.

Samuel Goldwyn Productions, Inc.
Los Angeles, Calif.

"The Elite Among Us"

SIR: My neighbor on the other side of the Salmon Falls River seems to have misunderstood completely Irwin Edman's excellent article "The Elite Among Us" [SRL Sept. 10]. Contrary to Warren H. Carroll's assertion [LETTERS, Oct. 8], Dr. Edman does not call for "the development of a new elite of the T. S. Eliot stamp." Neither, as Mr. Carroll will see if he rereads the article carefully, is he anti-liberal or anti-democratic. Rather, Dr. Edman in his concern for the survival of whatever democracy we now possess—and because of his desire to see the utmost growth of democracy—has

The Saturday Review

courageously pointed out those tendencies in our culture that are weakening our democracy and that may well reduce our country to the horror and barbarity that George Orwell has so graphically depicted in his "Nineteen Eighty-Four." Is it anti-democratic to question the validity and desirability of certain aspects of our way of life? If it is, a great many people may soon find themselves before a Congressional committee, charged with being subversive. And if enough people think so, we may all come under the despotism of an American "Big Brother." No, we have achieved our democracy because Americans have always sought to improve that democracy and to obtain its benefits in increasing abundance.

ROGER BERNARD DE HAYES.

Somersworth, N. H.

SIR: One Irwin Edman is probably worth fourscore and seven T. S. Eliots. Edman is leaven. Eliot is frosting. We rise with the former. The latter solemnly irritates our stomach and viscera whenever we are indiscreet enough to swallow him entire.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

CHARLES CZAAP.

Tonant Plea

SIR: I have just done my first Double-Croctic—your No. 810—backwards, and hope I shall in future be impovoid (O) to pursue the other sections of your journal which have hitherto engaged my interest, immotive (Z) to the edaphic (M) interest of the last page with its emeute (J) in print of notate (P) upgrowth (F). Let me rather return to my nonage (D) or retreat to a Gila Cliff (E), than be tempted again to find a miserable nine out of twenty-seven definitions prior to receiving the text. Else I shall become tonant (H), positively tonant!!!

And it would be a pity to drown out with such clamor the real things in your paper: the well-sustained emotion of Norman Cousins, from Berlin to Hiroshima, the continuing debates on people and-or systems which never let us forget the interplay of human beings and their environment, the literary quality of many pieces from which may be culled a point or two for thinking or for the technique of writing, and the constant fascination of trying to watch advertisements of books not yet reviewed in the SRL and catch your subsequent comments.

I find myself more and more wishing that, despite the inspirational value of the humanistic outlook which illumines your pages, you could make the SRL one place in which evaluation of a book's content is just a little more than balanced by analysis of its how, its style and mood, its structure in relation to subject matter, etc. Very often this element, while there, seems eclipsed by the desire to tell the general reader what the book is about and to show what the reviewer knows about the subject.

Some day all the major review periodicals will scale their pieces according to literary importance rather than current-event significance. When that day comes, our country will have come out of its nonage (D).

ELEANOR U. MANNING.

New York, N. Y.

NOVEMBER 5, 1949

Was America's first great war crimes trial a triumph of justice — or a "judicial lynching"?

THE CASE OF GENERAL YAMASHITA

By A. FRANK REEL

NORMAN THOMAS: "I read the book with absorbed interest . . . When I had finished, I scarcely knew whether I was more moved to weep that so many distinguished Americans had participated in prostituting justice to vengeance, or to cheer the magnificent job done by Mr. Reel and his colleagues. After this, no American general or President will dare to surrender. Such is the nature of war that a triumphant enemy on the precedent of the Yamashita case can find plenty of grounds for hanging the loser."

ROBERT MORRIS LOVETT: "I read it at a sitting and was immensely and terribly impressed . . . The case has significance for the future beyond all estimation. It represents a hideous lapse from civilization."

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Seeing Things

BRUSH OFF YOUR SHAKESPEARE

WHEN Greta Garbo appeared in "Ninotchka," the advertisements trembled with excitement. "GARBO LAUGHS!!" they shouted. The fact that she could laugh, and laugh delectably, was held to be news of that sensational kind which makes headlines scream. Apparently many of Maurice Evans's admirers are equally surprised to discover that in "The Browning Version" he not only can but does wear modern clothes.

Until they saw him in mufti in the first of the two one-acts by Terence Rattigan which Mr. Evans is now presenting as a double bill, Americans had never before seen him out of costume. John Tanner in "Man and Superman" was his nearest approach to appearing in modern dress on this side of the Atlantic. Although they had applauded him, roundly and rightly, as Napoleon in "St. Helena" and the Dauphin in "Saint Joan," it was mainly with Romeo, Richard II, Falstaff, Malvolio, Macbeth, and Hamlet that they associated him. In the public mind, therefore, Mr. Evans had come to be thought of as a Shakespearean actor. This is the cruel penalty he had risked for having rescued the Bard from the classroom on more than one triumphant occasion.

Now to be a Shakespearean actor is (again in the public mind) to belong to a race apart. The perils faced are no less great than is the prestige won. Since theatregoers are even more apt than managers to surrender to the temptations of type-casting, it is as hard for an actor to live down Shakespeare as it is to live up to him. Tights are supposed to be the Shakespearean player's native habitat and capes his daily protection against the elements. Audiences are anxious to believe the iambic pentameter is so much the natural rhythm of his speech that he employs it, plus the attendant "methinks," "sirrahs," "zounds," and "thou's," even when hailing a taxi or ordering ham and

eggs. His every gesture is assumed to be heroic in scale. Give him a sofa instead of a Savonarola chair, a bier, or a gilded throne, and there are those who believe he would flounder like a goldfish on the carpet. His voice is expected to be an instrument, if not a whole orchestra. It is taken for granted that, if at one moment he can outroar a lion, at the next he can outcoo a dove.

When in "A Harlequinade" a bewigged Mr. Evans appeared at the opening in the familiar habiliments of Romeo and started to spout, "He jests of scars that never felt a wound," some people out front must have felt the relief which comes from the native's return. Here he was once again, according to audience expectation, with poetry erupting from his lips. Here he was not only in tights but also in full command of that famous drought-curing diction of his which can soar and sing to give the supremest poet's verses their proper song. Yet, by the time of his entrance in this second of Mr. Rattigan's one-acts, few first-nighters could have failed to realize that, fine Shakespearean actor though he is, Mr. Evans is a performer whose gifts are not restricted either to Shakespeare or to costume parts. They must have sensed something else, too. They must have been agreeably aware that, as the harassed English schoolteacher in "The Browning Version," Mr. Evans

had buried a tradition which, more than being a myth, is a canard.

Mr. Rattigan's long one-act drama is realism at its most merciless. In spite of the limitations inherent in the short-play form, the same skill Mr. Rattigan displayed in "The Winslow Boy" is present in the writing of "The Browning Version." It is an interesting study of that favorite English character, a teacher in a public school, in this case the most chipped of Mr. Chipsey.

He is a man whose life and career have been destroyed by a wife mean enough to have stepped out of the pages of Strindberg. Her infidelities, frequent though they have been, must be counted among her lesser cruelties. She is one of those cannibals who feeds not on the flesh but on the pride and self-esteem of a victim. She hates her husband and causes him to hate himself. If as an older and a broken man he has become so unpopular at his school that he has been denied promotion, and indeed has lost his job, it is because his wife has made him distrustful of any expression of affection. He has reached the point when he shrinks from being liked. By his own confession he has been dead spiritually for twenty years.

JUST why Mr. Rattigan chose to subject his theme to the almost inescapable compressions, hence artificialities, of the one-act mold is hard to understand. An absorbing long play clearly lurks in his materials. Yet, considering the elbow-room and scope he has elected to deny himself, I must admit Mr. Rattigan has done an expert and a moving job. At all times he is aided by his actors. Edna Best is as stabbing as an icicle as the heartless wife. Ron Randall is admirable as her lover, who, seeing through her, has come to loathe her. Louis Hector is excellent as the pompous headmaster. And Peter Scott-Smith (the sole member of the original London company) is completely persuasive as the student with a squeaky voice who, out of affection, gives the teacher as a farewell present a copy of the Browning version of the "Agamemnon."

The performance of the evening, however, is Mr. Evans's. The diehards, who insist once a Shakespearean actor always a Shakespearean actor, may point out that he is protected by the script inasmuch as it requires the schoolmaster to speak in a fashion ornate enough to be parodied by his pupils. But Mr. Evans, though his diction remains impeccable, never once employs those rounded tones with which he meets Shakespeare's or even Shaw's demands. He



—Eileen Darby-Graphic House.
Maurice Evans and Edna Best—"He closes and padlocks the case on his harp."

*THE BROWNING VERSION, followed by A HARLEQUINADE, two one-act plays by Terence Rattigan. Directed by Peter Glenville. Settings by Frederick Storer. Costumes by David Ffolkes. Presented by Maurice Evans in association with Stephen Mitchell. With casts including Maurice Evans, Edna Best, Ron Randall, Bertha Baltimore, Louis Hector, Peter Scott-Smith, Frederick Bradlee, Patricia Wheel, Bertram Tanswell, Harry Sothorn, etc. At the Coronet Theatre, New York City. Opened October 12, 1949.

omits the vocal excursions and alarms. He closes and padlocks the case on his harp.

The man who created Raleigh in "Journey's End" in London twenty years ago, and who by the Thames had appeared in a long list of realistic plays, comes back to realism as if he had never broken away from it. He sees deeply into the heart, the mind, and the misery of the crushed and pathetic little man he is playing. He makes clear what is shriveled in his spirit. He communicates his self-control, his loneliness, and the hatred smoldering within him. Mr. Evans turns his back resolutely on the grand tradition. His characterization is projected in terms of small details, well observed and quietly stated. His are the pipe-smoking, sherry-serving, pocket-reaching gestures common to everyday life.

As for "A Harlequinade," which is a rough-and-tumble farce about two famous actors at a rehearsal in the provinces of "Romeo and Juliet," perhaps the less said the better. It begins hilariously with some wonderful backstage foolishness about Romeo's decision, after all these years of playing the balcony scene, to introduce a little jump onto a platform during his apostrophe to Juliet. But, thereafter, as its nonsense becomes more and more nonsensical, the laughter runs out of it like air from a child's balloon.

What makes the evening well worth the seeing is "The Browning Version." That and the Mr. Evans who in it proves himself to be as much at home in mufti as he ever was in tights.

...

Some time ago (SRL Oct. 1) I reviewed "White Heat." I cannot resist this week quoting from a letter I received from one of our best known and most esteemed playwrights, whose name I will not reveal. On the subject of James Cagney's latest gangster film he raises some highly provocative points.

"For once I am going to accuse you of pulling your punches. 'White Heat,' you say, 'does raise its disturbing problems.' Hell, it's terrifying! It is a long time since I have been as shocked as I was by the audience reaction, and by the hypocrisy and double-standard censorship principles that it showed up.

"The 'teen-age' reaction, on the occasion when I saw it, was that of delighted laughter when Cagney carelessly shot air-holes into the suffocating man in the rumble-seat of the car. It wasn't anything like hysterical laughter—it was the laughter of sheer pleasure, and lack of imagination. Censorship has forbidden the actual

NOVEMBER 5, 1949

This Pulitzer Prize Winner has his say



ROBERT PENN WARREN, Author of "All The King's Men"

"I have just seen 'All The King's Men' and I want to tell you how impressed I am. All of the main characters, and many of the minor ones, came startlingly alive for me. I say startlingly, because when I first saw the picture I thought of them as people inwardly alive, coming before me in their own right. In a way, it was like going back to the first, fresh idea of the book, before I had written a word.

"Where the characterizations departed from my own original ideas, as is sometimes the case, I felt it to be in accordance with a new and equally valid logic which the characters and director had discovered. I felt that they had revealed to me new aspects and new possibilities of the material. And as for the atmosphere, the general feeling of the picture—that, too is effectively done. In this picture, I think, there is intensity without tricks and pretensions, and always a sense of truth: such a thing as this could happen in a world like this."

Robert Penn Warren

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picturing of people receiving wounds or shots: the fist and the recipient cannot, I believe, ever be shown in the same shot: all horrors are to be avoided on the screen. And with what result? All the horrors and ugliness of murder are removed, and the unimaginative audiences see it only as great fun. I am reminded of De Stogumber in "Saint Joan," who had actually to watch Joan burning at the stake to be aware of what it was like, and of what he had done. I tell my folks they must be very careful. I say to them: "If you only saw what you think about, you would think quite differently about it." ... I did not know what cruelty was like. I had not seen it, you know. That is the great thing: you must see it. And then you are redeemed and saved."

"On that ground alone, the film seems to me a profoundly immoral and cheating one. I don't think that your argument about 'art and censorship' can quite hold water, since art implies a point of view, and I see none at all in this picture other than to get the maximum entertainment out of the maximum violence."

"Then, too, what is the movie censorship about, when it forbids the use of the word 'damn,' even forbids the mention of the names of cocktails and alcoholic drinks (I once had to have a character ask for 'one of those things with an olive in it,' not being allowed to mention a Martini)—forbids the portrayal of sexual passion—and permits this? It is useless to pretend that the poetic justice of bringing the sinner to his doom at the end is anything but an insincere lip-service postscript (which the audience recognizes as hypocrisy, not to be taken seriously), as you yourself indicate."

"Heroines who sin have to be punished, too—but I wonder what would be the fate of a picture in which the heroine's sins were as graphically and entertainingly portrayed as Cagney's are, no matter WHAT end she came to. OR in which she even had as many lovers as Cagney has victims. A morality which thinks sex-indulgence worse than murder has surely got something very wrong with it."

—JOHN MASON BROWN.

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The Saturday Review

FICTION

(Continued from page 19)

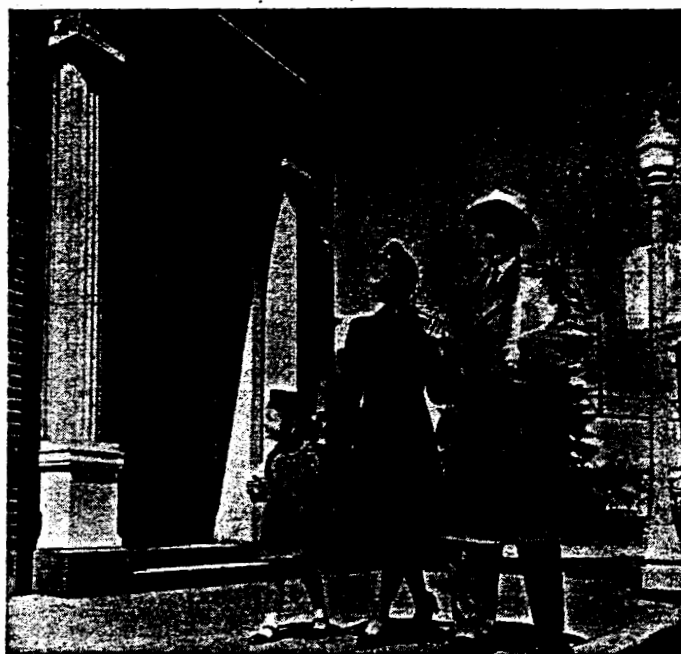
daughter's career as an artist's model. The hoped-for wealth and success do not materialize and Adriana would have settled for a decent husband and family if her first lovers had not turned out to be unhappily married husbands who, instead of leading her to the altar, led her down the primrose path. Be that as it may, Adriana astonishes both herself and the reader with her predisposition for the new life and the ease with which she adjusts herself to it.

Thereafter Adriana manages to keep quite busy with a string of affairs, but only one man arouses a serious love in her. That man is Mino, a law student and the black sheep of a land-owning family, who joins in a plot against Mussolini's Government. The greater part of the book is devoted to this unreciprocated love affair, which the author tries to plumb to its Dostoevskian depths; unfortunately, he succeeds only in creating some tortuous erotica.

It would seem that toward the last pages of this unhurried and interest-sustaining novel the author had grown weary and finished things off with a few quick strokes of the pen. Adriana becomes pregnant and deceives Mino into believing that he is the father. Meanwhile Mino has betrayed his friends by turning informer, but the news that he is pater familias does little to cheer him up as is evident by the fact that he proceeds to blow out his morbid brains. However, he leaves a letter which Adriana is to forward to his wealthy family, who are then to provide for the child. This enables Adriana to look to the future with confidence and to take a climactic vow of chastity—the same vow she has broken several times before in the course of her career.

As a character study Adriana is quite fascinating—a woman who is never really certain whether she is chasing or being chased by a lustful satyr. No doubt a touch of nymphomania makes the account of her career assume an almost esthetic veneer, whereas the tradition of this kind of naturalistic novel calls for emphasis on the sordid and inevitable physical and mental deterioration of the scarlet woman. However, the toll taken by poverty, innocence, loneliness, and environment is sufficiently considered to make "The Woman of Rome" a sincere effort at understanding a serious problem.

NOVEMBER 5, 1949



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THE FINE ARTS

THE FRENCH ART SHOWS

PARIS.

SINCE a year and a half ago, when I was here last, France seems impressively changed. The change is dramatically signalized by the sight of Caen from the Cherbourg boat train. In 1948 that distinguished town lay dusty and contorted, its terrible scars of war exposed and seemingly untended. Today, however, large new buildings are rising in its streets, and there is sound, movement, and, one imagines, hope. On the train itself the bread is whiter, and soon will be further enriched; the fixed menu includes an additional course. Arriving in Paris one senses at once a revival of energy and spirits. There are more people and cars on the streets; the shops are well stocked, even though the tourist rush is over; the city is lighter, cleaner, more aggressively its beautiful self. The food and wine are superb. There are expositions and conferences everywhere, among them a Conférence Téléphonique Internationale, whose main business, I trust, will be publicly to boil in oil one-third of the city's switchboard operators.

I began the art rounds at once, equipped with the excellent trade journal *Arts*, published by the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*. I went first, since it is closing soon, to the exhibition of Picasso's very recent paintings at the Musée de la pensée française. The display is disturbing. Picasso, clearly the leading master of our time, shows sixty-five oils, without frames, in a hopelessly crowded space. It is said that the painter himself, weary of the art trade's expensive beatification of his works, insisted on this kind of installation. He was wrong to do so, I think, but more seriously in error in allowing most of the pictures to be exhibited at all. Of the sixty-five paintings, three or four are excellent, four or five are interesting, the rest are slap-dash works which lack even virtuosity—the least of the great man's claims on our attention.

If Picasso does not try hard enough these days, as the present exhibition would perhaps unfairly indicate, his disciples sometimes try too hard. In the hall leading to his show are paintings by his young comrades in the Résistance; they seem feeble and derivative works almost without ex-

ception. But perhaps the installation and bad lighting are again partly to blame. Certainly I have never seen modern sculpture look worse than it does in the very large exhibition "Sculpture in France from Rodin to the Present," which concurrently fills the second floor and the garden of the Musée de la pensée française. There are fine works in the exhibition, but the confusion, clutter, and lack of cohesive standards are lamentable. Many of the indoor pieces are impossible to see properly. No checklist or catalogue is available and, to remedy this oversight, a number of the artists or their friends (in some cases it might well have been their enemies) have scribbled or gouged identifying names on the pedestals. I hope no neophyte will make up his mind about modern sculpture from the tawdry and careless evidence provided by this show.

Can anyone form a fair idea of the newer Parisian art by visiting the Salon d'Automne, which has just opened? I doubt it. There are 1,716 items, counting paintings, sculpture, drawings, and prints, and including memorial galleries for a number of artists lately dead. The most famous of the latter is Othon Friesz, whose international reputation seems totally inexplicable in view of the heavy and stingy talent revealed by his pictures at the Salon (and they are among his best). The chaos at the Salon is great, though with patience and strong legs one can learn much, most of it dispiriting so far as the works by the postwar generation are concerned. I found the large gallery of semi-abstract paintings by Gischia, Manessier, Marchand, Pignon, Tal-Coat, and others, the most interesting. Also notable, and by less familiar artists, were a huge romantic hunting scene by Lorjou and a rather gripping expressionist image, "The Poor Fisherman," by Antoine Martinez.

For the French public, the problem of judging this year's Salon must be especially hard in that it has become a political battleground. The war begins outside its doors on the Avenue Président Wilson, where the various art and literary journals are urged on

the visitor. The paper most conspicuously brandished on opening day was *Les lettres françaises*, a Communist-dominated organ. It has a long article on the Salon by Jean Marcenac which I wish could be reprinted in America, if only for the special edification of Rep. George A. Dondero, of Michigan, who is so stubbornly convinced that Communist art and "modern" art are one and the same subversive thing.

M. Marcenac begins his attack on "modern" (specifically, abstract) art much as Rep. Dondero began his tirade in Congress—by claiming quite falsely that nobody wants it, at least not for coin of the realm. Abstract paintings are "unsalable today," says M. Marcenac. He adds: "The abstract painters have not understood that what one bought from them—and what one will buy less and less, because today abstraction is no longer enough—was their silence. . . . In a world where the people who are the clients of art dealers belong to a social category of which the least that can be said is that reality gives it neither reason nor hope, in such a world since painters cannot

be prevented from painting, they can at least be led to painting nothingness." Has M. Marcenac tried to buy a cubist Picasso or a late Mondrian recently? The prices are very high, the demand very active. Does he seriously imagine that these artists were "led" to create what they did?

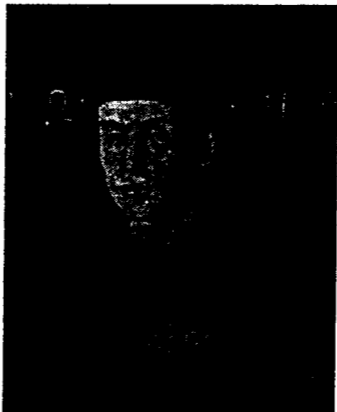
YOU can see where M. Marcenac's argument is leading—straight to the politico-social realism which he reproduces almost exclusively on his pages. Art, he says, "must be a language understood by everyone." As spearhead for his contention, he chooses a large recent painting by Fougerson—"the entire people understand it." The picture is entitled "Homage to Houlier," Houlier being, in M. Marcenac's words, "a militant Communist, veteran of two wars, assassinated at fifty-nine for having defended the peace." M. Marcenac calls the picture a milestone in French history painting, and points out that it breaks completely with Fougerson's earlier, abstract style. He does not add what seems to me evident: that the picture owes much to Balthus, who long before the war turned to comparable, mannerist figure painting, though without political overtones.

Nevertheless, Fougerson's picture is an interesting work (I am sorry not to be able to reproduce it here, but



whereas photographs of other paintings were available at the Salon to everyone who had the modest price, this negative belongs to *Les lettres françaises* and apparently to them alone). If Balthus seems a much finer artist than Fougere, it is not because he is less politically minded, but because what he says is stronger, more personal, and better expressed. There is nothing the matter with social realism as such in art; it has produced some of the greatest images of the past, and will do so again in the future—provided it springs from individual conviction instead of organized factional pressure. But what is dangerously wrong is its champions' insistence that it is the only true direction for artists to take. And today in Paris the political atmosphere among artists is so tense that values have become raucous and distorted. I find it hard to believe that the new generation will discover its own identifying style until the current political crisis has abated somewhat.

After the polemics of the Salon, it is a relief to visit the calm galleries of the Petit Palais, where the French masterpieces of the Louvre, up to the impressionists, are now installed. While there were definite advantages in being able to see these pictures in the wider context of the prewar Louvre, now at least one discovers qualities and comparison never suspected before. The jewels follow one after another, beginning with the fifteenth-century Fouquets and ending with Lautrec's "Mail Coach at Nice"—that vigorous little picture, reeling with elegance, its fashionable turbulence contrasting sharply with Gericault's romantic image of primitive brute strength, "The Race of the Wild Horses." The sixteenth-century mannerist pictures at the Petit Palais are



—Jean Fouquet.

"The jewels follow one after another . . ."

NOVEMBER 5, 1949

superbly chosen, the eighteenth-century Watteaus and Chardins of top rank mostly. But what makes the exhibition especially exciting is that it reveals how greatly the seventeenth century in French art has been strengthened by the fairly recent re-discovery of Georges de la Tour, the subject of a handsome new monograph by François-Georges Pariset. Whereas once Poussin and Claude seemed that century's chief French ornaments, now they share honors with De la Tour. They share them, too, with the brothers Le Nain, by whom additional works have lately come to light. Thus the French tradition becomes more and more impressive with the years. at the Musée du Jeu de Paume, its late-nineteenth-century flowering is illustrated by the "Masters of Impressionism" exhibition, inaugurated after the recent war.

At the Orangerie des Tuileries, the large Gauguin show of the summer continues, jammed to the doors at all hours of the day. For me, Gauguin has always been by far the weakest of the post-impressionist four—Cézanne, Van Gogh, Seurat, and himself. I still feel that is his rank, and that the legend about him, so largely created by "The Moon and Sixpence," has over-inflated his fame. Nevertheless, this is a fine show, and includes a number of unfamiliar works which confirm, though they do not increase, Gauguin's considerable stature. What is especially evident is his tendency to wobble at separate times toward various of his greater contemporaries. But then again he hits his own stride, and paints those flat, brilliant pictures which meant so much to innumerable artists everywhere at the end of his and the beginning of our own century. Perhaps his finest early disciples were Vuillard and Bonnard, whose large decorative panels are shown at Bernheim Jeune.

Numerous shows are scheduled to open soon, among them the Salon des Tuileries, the Salon des Surindépendants, and a retrospective Léger exhibition at the Musée d'Art Moderne, which will be followed by one for the English sculptor Henry Moore. I hope to report on these events at a later date. Meanwhile, it is to be noted that there are more art bookshops than ever before, that the Café Flore is often so crowded that not even an existentialist can be sure of a table, that magazines devoted to *la belle poitrine* and kindred subjects are reappearing on the stands as postwar austerity relaxes, that the weather is wonderful, that Paris as I said, as someone, God willing, will always be saying, is very beautiful by day and night.

—JAMES THRALL SOBY.

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"The Disasters of War," by Goya.

—From "Modern Painters."

The Mind of Goya

THIS I SAW. By Antonina Vallentin.
New York: Random House. 871 pp.
\$5.

By WALTER PACH

WHEN, because of the Civil War in Spain, the masterpieces of the Prado Museum were sent for safekeeping to Switzerland, Bernard Berenson remarked before the works of Goya, "With him you have the beginning of our modern anarchy." If that last word troubles you, try substituting dynamism, revolution, or the like. But at least you will agree with Mr. Berenson that Goya stands on the dividing line between a past and a future.

His latest biographer, Antonina Vallentin, is no new hand when it comes to the study of extraordinary personalities, for in her "Leonardo da Vinci" she had to deal with some of the supreme problems of the human mind. And in the book before us it is the mind of its subject which most interests the author. The incidents of his exciting career are retold in a way that indicates a new study of source material, and credit is due for the caution exercised as to sensational incidents. In Goya's case there is a plethora of such material, but Mme. Vallentin has had the good sense and the good taste to reject many of the early legends when they could not

be supported by real documentation. The result, especially for the earlier life of the great painter, is to show him as a steady and sober aspirant for excellence in his art, instead of the "great lover" and adventurer of the romanticized biographies, thus attaining a thoroughly credible portrait of the man. His career of eighty-two years, during which he went from poverty to wealth, from obscurity to the highest rank as painter to the kings and great nobles of Spain, is accounted for in detail which includes a dramatic recital of the effects of the total deafness which overtook him in middle life, his relationship with the soul-stirring events of Napoleon's fatal War of the Peninsula, and the final exile to France which the artist imposed upon himself when a Bourbon reactionary again mounted the throne of his country.

In giving the background against which the drama of Goya's art was enacted, the author makes searching inquiry into matters like the relationship of the painter to the politically awakening masses of mankind, to the devastating power of the Inquisition, and to the question of religion itself. If Spanish Catholicism was so deep-rooted that even a man of Goya's fierce independence habitually made the sign of the cross on the paper which was to receive his drawings

or writings, he also composed satire in pictures, if not against the Church itself, at least against the abuses and repressions of which the Church was guilty."

From the standpoint of psychology—that of the man and his period—the book may be read with profit. But, after all, the essential thing about an artist is his art; and it was because of the quality of Goya's painting that Berenson made the suggestive remark above quoted. Mme. Vallentin is sensitive to the quality of paint on canvas, to color, and to composition. So that, when—in his youth—her hero was not yet able to meet his pictorial problems, she says so without hesitation. The very uneven merit of his work throughout his later life is likewise dealt with in unsparing fashion, her shrewd observation being that the range of his portraits—from dull failure to dazzling success—is to be measured, in large part, by his interest in his sitters.

Granting that such preoccupation with subject matter affected the work of many artists of the past, one is indeed led to give weight to those words "modern anarchy" when one sees how much of Goya's value resides in matter of pure expression. A Titian of only mediocre appeal as a human document may still be a nearly complete gospel of painting. Not so a Goya, for it lacks the foundation of the central hearth of European art which makes Italy, and, later on, France the inheritors of the Greeks, and even of the predecessors of that supreme people.

So that Mme. Vallentin, emphasizing Goya's anticipation of the modern sense of landscape, and uttering such sentences as "Impressionism is born," is right in devoting the space she does to the enigmas contained in Goya's etchings. Often explained, they still defy complete explanation, as does a panel with which the artist, in his old age, decorated a wall of his house. "It is the essay of a painter no longer addressing himself directly to the human eye. It is suggestion: like waves of music, this painting calls directly upon human sensibility. But it is also the end of an art governed by certain immutable laws of vision: an impasse, not a road."

The statement is a bold one, as are all statements that would set limitations upon the course of genius. Who knows? If even the glorious lifetime of Goya was not enough to solve the problems which he imagined for art, perhaps "modern dynamism" (the variant I proposed for Berenson's phrase) has carried his work on to new success.

The Saturday Review

Voices of Eternity

IN OUR IMAGE: Character Studies from the Old Testament. With a foreword by Kent Cooper and color portraits by Guy Rowe. New York: Oxford University Press. 197 pp. \$10.

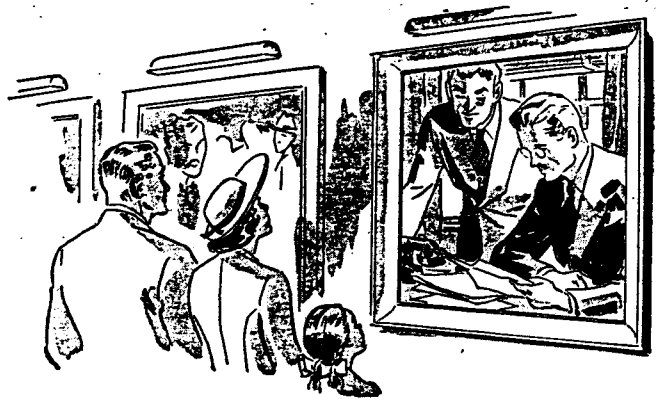
By PIERRE VAN PAASSEN

IT IS easy, perhaps, to discover books in running brooks, and sermons in stones, or in a dish of fresh peas, but to find a sermon in contemporary faces and to invest that sermon with something of the still, small voice of eternity, is a more difficult matter. Yet this is what Guy Rowe has done in this impressive volume in which appear seventy-five of his illustrations of the best-known characters of the Old Testament.

There is an element of the unexpected about these portraits, in spite of the fact that many of the faces must seem rather familiar to anyone who, as Mr. Rowe is said to have done, has frequented contemporary Jewish circles to find his originals. To a person brought up on the glorified innocuity and insipidness of Bible faces found in the conventional Sunday School illustrations, Mr. Rowe's characters may well come as a shock. His Moses and Solomon are human. They have human faces, not the faces of slightly damaged and discolored saints. It is an exhilarating experience to meet his Joshua and his Ruth. One may well be somewhat fearful to approach the Jeremiah and Isaiah of certain contemporary theological treatises. But one would never hesitate long, one feels, to try to strike up a conversation with Mr. Rowe's prophets on the subject of the tension between East and West, or on the skein of international intrigue and power politics in which their own country is tangled up till this very day.

You can see in these faces that the men and women of antiquity were not the ethereal, almost other-worldly creatures they are so often made out to be. For one thing they had a sense of humor. They had not lost the capacity to be amused at the vicissitudes and problems of their time. Moses, of whom we too often are led to think as a stern judge and an austere lawgiver, laughs outright. And, incidentally, his teeth could very well serve as an advertisement for the toothpaste used in the Sinaian desert 4,000 years ago. There is a sly twinkle in Gideon's eye as besseems a man who so effectively fooled his country's enemies with the famous trick of the cracking crocks.

Joshua is in a perplexing quandary



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33

think out the strategy to be employed in slipping the Hebraic tribes into the land of Canaan, a feat on a par with the landing of the American Army on Anzio beach. Samson whippers his last vengeful whisper to the boy in Dagon's temple as the Philistine grandees in the background rile and jeer at his blindness, little suspecting that in the next instant he will bring the house down on their heads.

The picture of Abraham shows a disconcerted, desperately pleading old man, with a gesture of the hands familiar to all who knew the late Dr. Stephen S. Wise. Mr. Rowe's Abraham evidently is contending and wrestling with the Eternal One for the sake of Sodom: "If peradventure there are five righteous men in the city, will the Judge of all the world not do right?" One cannot help wishing we had another Abraham, as passionately concerned with the future of the human race, sitting in the Council of the U.N., or a Jeremiah excoriating the smugness, the self-satisfaction, and the godlessness of the present age.

They were human, those prophets, as Mr. Rowe shows them. But they were also terrible men; terrible in the sense the Italians give to the word and as they apply it to Michelangelo and Dante and Julius II, i.e., great, colossal, passionately in earnest, God-intoxicated.

They spoke with a moral elevation that cannot be found in the language of any other people of antiquity. Their words are for all times and for all conditions of men. The words and acts of these prophets will go ringing through the universe till the end of time, even if, as James Darmstadter once said, "the people of Israel should disappear from the scene, and leave not a trace of their passage through history."

I know of nothing sadder than the intellectual wounds of many of the more thoughtful of the younger generation who are estranged from the Bible. Their sadness arises from that bitterest and most desolate feeling of the human heart: "They have taken away my Lord, and I do not know where they have laid him." It is, the merit of Guy Rowe to have brought the greatest teachers of mankind back before us in graphic, realistic form. His paintings ought to tempt many to learn what it was these prophets and sages said and did.

Pierre van Paassen, minister of a New York City Unitarian Church, is the author of "Days of Our Years," "Earth Could Be Fair," and the recently published "Why Jesus Died."

Hudnut: Educator & Architect

ARCHITECTURE AND THE SPIRIT OF MAN. By Joseph Hudnut. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 301 pp. \$4.50.

By WILLIAM LESCAZE

THIS is a collection of twenty-four pleasant conversation pieces. One by one they reveal an intelligent and cultured man who in his youth absorbed and enjoyed the then omnipresent conventional teaching of academic architecture, who took pleasure in designing a few Gothic churches, and who became dean, successively, of two of our more important schools of architecture.

During his educational career, Mr. Hudnut has been confronted with many restive students—students who could not accept the "irrelevancies" of academic architectural education, and whenever he opened the Roman windows of his university rooms he could see on the horizon the approach of modern architecture throughout the land. Being wise and quick, he responded; I am referring to his success—this a decisive stroke of genius—in convincing the Harvard trustees to let him make Gropius the head of Harvard's Graduate School of Design. Unfortunately, that story is not told in this book.

There isn't any doubt that Mr. Hudnut loves buildings. At a time when cities are often derided, I am grateful to him that he writes so well about his love of cities. In Mr. Hudnut's essays you will find some charming descriptions of beauty, of form, of architecture. Personally, I had looked forward to a more decisive and positive statement. Since Mr. Hudnut can write with such felicity ("There must be many of us who, knowing the latent power of architecture for human happiness, wish for an architecture which is no longer a dead art.") I had naturally hoped that he might communicate to his readers a more sustained and wholehearted enthusiasm and conviction.

For many years I have been convinced that if people were to become aware of architecture, to the extent to which eighteenth-century people were, we might more quickly achieve a valid architecture of our time. Mr. Hudnut's book will help, in such chapters as "The Gothic Universities"—"The Last of the Romans"—"Architecture and Men of Science"—"Only the Living Remember"; but it may also confuse.

I for one strongly believe that there are "moral values" in architecture. Mr. Hudnut states that he does not. When Mr. Hudnut says, "The power

Your Literary I.Q.

By Howard Collins

NEXT-TO-THE-LAST-LINES

Edward A. Schmerler, of Chevy Chase, Md., offers twenty "next-to-the-last" lines from Shakespearean sonnets and asks you to quote the last line. Allowing five points for each correct answer, a score of thirty is par, forty is very good, and fifty or better is excellent. Answers on page 36.

1. But were some child of yours alive that time. . . .
2. So long as men can breathe, or eyes can see. . . .
3. Presume not on thy heart when mine is slain. . . .
4. Oh learn to read what silent love hath writ. . . .
5. Lo, thus, by day my limbs, by night my mind. . . .
6. But if the while I think of thee, kind friend. . . .
7. If my slight muse do please these curious days. . . .
8. So, till the judgment that yourself arise. . . .
9. So true a fool is love, that in your will. . . .
10. I am to wait, though waiting so be hell. . . .
11. O! sure I am, the wits of former days. . . .
12. O none, unless this miracle have might. . . .
13. For as the sun is daily new and old. . . .
14. These offices, so oft as thou wilt look. . . .
15. You still shall live (such virtue hath my pen). . . .
16. Take heed, dear heart, of this large privilege. . . .
17. And thou in this shall find thy monument. . . .
18. You are so strongly in my purpose bred. . . .
19. If this be error, and upon me prov'd. . . .
20. And yet, by heaven, I think my love as rare. . . .

of form to enhance the quality of our lives must rest upon its identity with our lives," or, "Architecture is one of those means by which men enlarge the world by adding to it the qualities which satisfy that need for order and harmony," I do indeed agree and it could not have been said better. But when he suggests that, because of the confusions and dissonances which he believes to be the major characteristics of our times, we are not capable of carrying out master plans for our universities, much less for our cities, I cannot help but feel that Mr. Hudnut is not altogether sure of himself or of his contemporaries, and certainly not altogether trustful of the new architecture which he otherwise advocates; somehow he wants to play safe and keeps longing for the "good manners" of our grandmother's days. I have no objection to good manners, as such. As long as they are not false—like those of nineteenth-century architecture. It is overly generous of him indeed to say that the architects of that time "intended American traditions."

As an historian, Mr. Hudnut realizes that modern architecture is in the tradition of all great architectures. He also knows that modern architects did not invent functionalism or space (evident in Versailles, a Baroque church, or a Greek temple); but that they had to clear the architectural air and restate the fundamentals in order to reconquer the right to create—not to copy, and to do so in terms of living men and contemporary technology.

There is one chapter I missed in Mr. Hudnut's book—who determines architecture and how? While it is not always true that a large building is necessarily a more significant work of architecture than a small house, clearly the large building—twenty or forty stories high—has more impact. Who decides to build large buildings today? Is not the selection of the architect one of the most decisive factors? What influences such a selection? Someone said that the only good novels were "novels written in the prose that risks." Does this not also apply to our buildings, the ones which Mr. Hudnut contemplates so quizzically, the ones with which all of us live?

William Lescaze, Swiss-born American citizen, is one of the leading exponents of modern architecture. He designed the Philadelphia Savings Fund Society building, among others, and received a silver medal for designing the Swiss Pavilion at the New York World's Fair. He is the author of "The Intent of the Artist."

NOVEMBER 5, 1949

Art Notes

GAINSBOROUGH, by Mary Woodall. Chanticleer. \$2.75. Thomas Gainsborough, who was happiest painting landscapes, lived in an age before the charms of the English countryside were appreciated by the picture-buying public. To pay his butcher bills he turned to portrait painting, and his successful production of the worthies of his day eventually enabled him to enjoy a comfortable existence at London and Bath. The economic and other factors that shaped Gainsborough's career are carefully examined by Mary Woodall, always on the basis of reliable sources, which she has duly noted in her book. The result is a short, scholarly rather than a long, romantic biography. There are fifty illustrations, four of them in color.

THE MATERIALS OF THE ARTIST AND THEIR USE IN PAINTING, by Max Doerner. Harcourt, Brace. \$4.50. This standard work, first published in English fifteen years ago and long the source for many others in the field, still remains the best handbook of the painter's craft. Although it is described by the publishers as a revised edition, relatively few changes have been made. The Doerner Institute in Munich, where his pupils have carried on his work since Dr. Doerner's death, has made a good deal of new material available but Professor Eugen Neuhaus, the translator, has made little use of it.

Professor Neuhaus is inclined to be overly cautious. More than twenty years ago Doerner said of titanium white, then a relatively new product: "A definite opinion is not yet possible." Wide use has since been made of the pigment, but in this new edition the statement remains unchanged. However, a few corrections have been made and an appendix converting the metric formulae to our standards, a great convenience, has been added.

RETREAT FROM LIKENESS IN THE THEORY OF PAINTING, by Frances Bradshaw Blanshard. Columbia. \$3.50. Throughout history there has been a recurring tendency to judge painting by the closeness with which it mimics nature. Dr. Blanshard traces the revolt against such degeneration carefully and lucidly (providing documentation for those who desire it) from Plato's day to the present. Her book is the work of an uncommonly able scholar, whose sensitivity to the fine arts allows her full expression. About half of her text is devoted to the last half

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happily happy	_____	felicitous	_____
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century. There are eight aptly chosen, full-page reproductions, four of them in color. This new revised edition deserves far wider notice than was accorded the book when it was originally published four years ago.

AUDUBON'S AMERICAN BIRDS, introduction by Sacheverell Sitwell. Batsford. \$2. This latest volume in the Batsford Color Book Series contains sixteen seven-by-nine-inch color plates reproduced directly from Audubon's "The Birds of America." In the dozen pages of Mr. Sitwell's highly literate introduction there is much engrossing information about the ornithologists, artists, painters, and engravers who contributed to early books on birds. There is also a brief note to point out the significance of each plate.

FLOWERS, introduction by Margaretta Salinger. Harper. \$5. In two dozen pages Miss Salinger, of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, provides a comprehensive discussion of flowers in paintings. Her essay is well done, considering that she is an accessory after the fact, apparently having no hand in the selection of the forty full-color, page-sized plates. These range from thirteenth-century religious paintings, when flowers were a symbolical adjunct, through the last three centuries, where flowers were frequently the chief subject of the artist. Paintings by Picasso, Matisse, Braque, et al., are reproduced in the volume to show the latter-day artist's concern with flowers.

TINTORETTO, by Hans Tietze. Phaidon. \$7.50. This is another of those large, magnificent volumes Phaidon has been issuing for years, and again this one is printed in Austria as before the war. As usual, there is an authoritative text and an abundance of reproductions—300 of them, with several in color. Some of the larger murals are reproduced in one piece on fold-ins four and five pages wide in order to do them justice. In some instances enlarged details are provided.

Tintoretto's position on the cusp of the High Renaissance and the Baroque, as well as his relationship to his contemporaries, is deftly explored by Professor Tietze with modern scholarship in the sixty-odd-page text. To the critical catalogue of 300 items which follows, the author also brings his vast experience and authority.

—L. R. SANDER

IN DEFENSE OF TALK

(Continued from page 11)

outside the United States than within, as well as much more fetishism of our luxury goods and gadgets, which we have long taken for granted. This poverty complex abroad, not a little flavored by sour grapes and stiff British pride, calls for more comprehension than annoyance. Yet the author's exaltation of the Attlee-Cripps Government as a great creative contribution to the world and a model for ourselves ("Britain will have overpaid her dues for Marshall aid when Americans realize what the new British way of life means") seems rather like praising that London boarding-house staple called cold shape as the epicure's delight. It is a *modus vivendi* but hardly the beau ideal.

No reader of this book or the latest symposium of the University of Illinois Institute of Communications Research, "Mass Communications," edited by Wilbur Schramm (Urbana, 1949), can miss the enormous effect of technology upon patterns of social intercourse or the senses through which ideas flowed. From the dawn of history down to the invention of printing the spoken word dominated human life and learning. Thereafter the eye began rapidly to gain upon the ear, speeded by democratic education. Early in the twentieth century film swung the channel of learning back toward the visual, until radio and the talkies came to redress the trend, and finally television arrived to hold both in balance. Television in particular fascinates Mr. Hogben: "... a language which transcends all barriers of natural speech. The world is its parish. ... It broadcasts from the Tower of Babel to the winds of heaven the tocsin of the unity of mankind." Of course it, too, is a neutral instrument, as the author should not forget, equally effective in the hands of truth and justice or of divisive propaganda. Like the radioactive isotope, it is the symbol of an unlimited power for blessing or for injury.

Like most educators with imagination, Hogben dwells upon the vast new possibilities of learning from pictures. With this key one might unlock those doors of language which still shut the human race into various cells of isolation, suspicion, and ill-will. When pictures by-pass vocabularies, many of the differences between groups, including even those between highbrow and lowbrow, begin to shrink. The world of learning at once grows more democratically accessible, as it did with sound-writ-

ing and the invention of printing. Science, of course, since the times of Da Vinci and Vesalius has gone all out for teaching by pictures—the anatomical chart and botanical drawing, the diagram of electrical engineering, neurology, or nuclear physics—more accurate and more economical than words. To this art, film and television now add the dynamic element—time and action—and the future of education is bright with incredible promise. (A scientist like Professor Hogben seems almost eager to dismiss the value of literature; one cannot forbear reminding him that the effect of poetry can sometimes transcend even pictures.)

In 1925 Otto Neurath set up in Vienna the first institute of visual education by isotypes—those pictographs reduced to the bare essentials of recognition. The isotype in fact is ancient sign-writing harnessed to the methods and content of science. A refugee from that planned ill-communication called Nazism, Neurath fled first to The Hague and then to London, but persisted in his work with children to create those simple, lucid, often eloquent charts for education. Hogben, who dedicates this book to Neurath's memory, suggests that as a tool for learning the isotype has all the makings of a universal picture language.

Hogben's passion for making learning easier does not place him on all fours with the progressive educationists. Declaring that "the happiness of

LITERARY I.Q. ANSWERS

1. You should live twice;—in it, and in my rhyme. 2. So long lives this, and gives life to thee. 3. Thou gav'st me thine, not to give back again. 4. To hear with eyes belongs to love's fine wit. 5. For thee, and for myself, no quiet find. 6. All losses are restor'd, and sorrows end. 7. The pain be mine, but thine shall be the praise. 8. You live in this, and dwell in lovers' eyes. 9. (Though you do anything) he thinks no ill. 10. Not blame your pleasure, be it ill or well. 11. To subjects worse have given admiring praise. 12. That in black ink my love may still shine bright. 13. So is my love still telling what is told. 14. Shall profit thee, and much enrich thy book. 15. Where breath most breathes—even in the mouths of men. 16. The hardest knife ill-used doth lose his edge. 17. When tyrants' crests and tombs of brass are spent. 18. That all the world besides methinks are dead. 19. I never writ, nor no man ever lov'd. 20. As any she belied with false compare.

the child is not the goal of education in a society confident of its own future," he finds silly that sentimental preoccupation with the self-expression of childhood which neglects those fifty-odd years ahead when disciplined knowledge and tough-mindedness are needed. A British mathematician may well be scandalized by a system whose alumni show so feeble a grasp of the science of numbers as Armed Forces experience has reportedly shown. The sort of training Professor Hogben would substitute is not sketched in detail, but its structure would certainly be firmer and the factual yield higher. Long before the child learns to read and write he would begin life against a background of chart and film and television, which, exploiting to the full his visual curiosity and puzzle-solving instinct, would teach him, now and in the book-reading years, with minimum pain and waste time. That vacuum into which the commercialism of Hollywood and the comic book have moved by default would be annexed for serious learning.

By means of its captions, he suggests, the isotype should foster bilingualism—the child's native tongue plus a world auxiliary language. The latter, not the native speech of any group—since that would lay an unfair handicap upon the others—might be fabricated from the vocabulary, even jargon, of modern science and technology, which already has the elements of a basic idiom known alike in Bangkok and Boston. Stripped of all grammatical principles save word-order, such an idiom (in the proposer's opinion) might powerfully aid "the liquidation of illiteracy as a prelude to the unification of mankind."

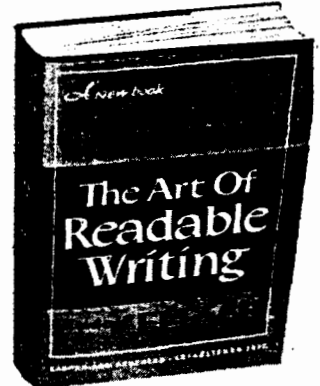
It is highly doubtful that a common language would remove the major frictions between peoples, any

more than between persons. Men are conditioned to make different responses to the same word. And even in areas of free bilingual culture—for example between the savants of France and Germany for several generations—bitter conflicts can rage. The social imagination, emotional maturity, cultural interchanges, travel, vicarious experience through literature and art, and that much-invoked, little-practised spirit called Christian ethics are still more necessary to *rapprochement* than a common vocabulary. As the political frame within which understanding between peoples can grow, a United Nations moving steadily toward world federalism seems to be the only answer. A line from W. H. Auden says it all: "We must love one another or die."

On this point Hogben is in full agreement, but sees two current difficulties. The Western nations are unready to abate sovereignty on the basis of proportional representation while the majority of the world's population is still illiterate—or so newly literate, as among the Soviets, that a Party machine can treat them like illiterates. On the other hand, stressing education as a test for franchise leaves those peoples which an elder British poet called "lesser breeds" suspicious of One World as just another white man's imperium. (In Kipling's day it was rightly observed that the white man's burden consisted principally of loot.) An effective world government must therefore pledge itself both to raise general literacy to new levels and also to recognize the equal rights, dignity, and high potentialities of all races. Hogben proposes that such a world federation create a statutory body able to enforce a program of universal literacy under stated time-limits, while periodically revising the claims to representation of backward

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Who Shrinks from Truth

By Dorothy Langley

WHO shrinks from truth will starve at last on lies.
Who scoffs at love rejects the Holy Ghost.

Be not deceived, nor turn away your eyes;

Love is no guest within us, but our host.

The body's brief rejoicing is not power,

The mind's illusory brilliance is not light,

And all men know it in the shuddering hour

Of death, and cannot thrust it out of sight.

Man dies already more than half decayed

And but for love would reek of his prognosis.

Love, which dies with him, falls upon the blade

And dies perfumed and proud like falling roses,

To man's mere carrion still performing well

The office of an angel trapped in hell.

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nations as they rise in the educational scale.

This is a sensible idea—too sensible, probably, to win the assent of Soviet nationalism, along with any other scheme that would curb the operation of old-fashioned power politics. Here, as in the United Nations plan for control of atomic energy, the Cominform nations would almost certainly count themselves out, to become increasingly the enemy of the common safety. But not for a moment should this deter us, especially when we realize the eagerness with which most nations would welcome a strong lead from the United States—whether toward abolishing the Security Council veto, implementing atomic energy control, creating a world police backed by all the power in our arsenal and the moral weight which collective action alone can furnish, or planning a global federation grounded upon an increasingly literate and responsible citizenship.

Universal education is surely one of the most important keys to effective world government. Its accent upon this fact makes Hogben's history of communication a useful book. He rightly states that past civilizations have fallen less from external pressure than from failure to grow and meet fresh responsibilities—when their means of communication proved "inadequate to integrate community effort in the advancement of knowledge." For example, the deep and subtle learning of Alexandria became at last the monopoly of an élite out of touch with the world, impotent to make its knowledge felt by enlisting mass opinion and action. Is Western culture approaching the same pass? It is clear that education—whether learning to read, write, and think, or on another plane the scientific and technical information of the so-called Point Four program—must be spread widely and effectively through the world before democratic federation becomes truly possible. We would like to think that this mission is more vitally "the American way" than either sheer individualism or our high living standard—cherished notions which incidentally may have to be pared down somewhat in the process. Henceforth, as the author of "Science for the Citizen" now reflects, "men can be bedfellows in a common grave, or co-partners in a common prosperity which the right use of science now makes possible." As a rational and communicating animal, man now comes up for his final test.

Dixon Wecter is Byrne Professor of American History in the University of California.

The New Recordings

COMPOSITION, PERFORMER, ALBUM NUMBER, NUMBER OF RECORDS	ENGINEERING Recording Technique, Surface	PERFORMANCE AND CONTENT
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RECORDS WE SHOULD LIKE TO HEAR—FFRR CHECK LIST

For some six months this department has been accumulating an impressive list of English Decca rrr records ordered but never received. No doubt the hiatus is incidental to the rebirth of this brand under the London label. Lest readers wonder at the oversight, herewith is a preliminary list of likely items. They will be reviewed if and as received. VAUGHAN WILLIAMS: "On Wenlock Edge," EDA 67; "An English Song Recital" (Purcell, Arne, Vaughan Williams), Roy Henderson, bar., EDA 70; BRITTEN: "A Ceremony of Carols," EDA 86; MOZART: Piano Concerto #24 in C minor, K. 491 (Kathleen Long), EDA 110; FAURE: Ballade for Piano & Orch. (Kathleen Long), EDA 112; BACH: Brandenburg Concerto #6 (Boyd Neel), EDA 117; GEMINIANI: Concerto Grosso, Op. 2, #2 (Boyd Neel), K. 2124; BONONCINI: "Deh più a me," . . . CACCINI: "Amarilli" (Suzanne Danco), K. 2070; SCHUBERT: "Rosamunde" Overture, Op. 26, K. 2071; DEBUSSY: "Fêtes Galantes," 2nd series (Gerard Souzay, bar.), K. 2171.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, EARLY AND LATE

*SCARLATTI: FOUR SONATAS.

Wanda Landowska, harpsichord.
RCA Victor 49-0476 (7") and 12-0964 (12")

Technically similar to the old Scarlatti Society album—I'd give the older job a very slight edge over this in clarity and naturalness. This lacks some sharpness in highs.

The incomparable and unique Landowska brand of Scarlatti, on the proper instrument. Supplements the priceless Society (HMV) album of years back, the best of all her work, I'd say.

*HAYDN: SYMPHONY #73 ("LA CHASSE").

Indianapolis Symph., Seivitsky.
RCA Victor DM, WDM 1312 (2)

The newest batch of RCA recordings is of superlative quality—the 45 rpm has evidently spurred a continuing modernization that brings RCA well up to the best elsewhere.

A hard, accurate performance that observes all the indications of the score and is astonishingly ugly. It takes more than accuracy to play Haydn.

*HANDEL: THE TWELVE CONCERTI GROSSI, OP. 6.

Busch Chamber Players. (A Busch; E. Druckman; H. Busch, concertino; M. Horszowski, continuo.)
Columbia LP: SL 58 (4) (Manual or automatic)

In spite of some erratic playing and typical Busch roughness, this is an all-time monument of recording—these 12 works are a world of music in themselves, good for hours of study and enjoyment. Advantages: (a) correct ensemble—small string orch., concertino (3 solo strings), harpsichord continuo; (b) excellent, highly natural recorded balance with correct give-and-take between small and large groups clearly distinguished; (c) playing avoids "antique" or Wagnerian urges; tempos mostly excellent, manner is unaffected. A maximum of the music gets through. LP transferral is excellent, replaces 25 shellacs with 4 plastics!

*A BACH PROGRAM

(Passacaglia & Fugue in C minor, Tocc. & Fugue in D minor, "Jesu Joy of Man's Desiring," Chorale Prelude: "Sleepers Wake") arr. Ormandy, Cailliet. Phila. Orch., Ormandy.
Columbia LP ML 2058

Usual fulsome Phila. recording, but LP transferral is B grade—the ultra-loud endings (ne plus ultra) get out of control, and go buzzy. But could better be done with this awesome noise?

Latest entry in the race to outdo Stokowski, originator of whale-size super-Bach. These mighty tid-bits strain the huge orch. to apoplexy, ring the changes of walrus-teared romance. Bach for beginners, eh?

*HANDEL - HARTY: "ROYAL FIREWORKS MUSIC."

Liverpool Philharmonic, Sargent. (With BRITTEN: "Young Person's Guide")
Columbia LP ML 4197

The Handel is a fine recording, though overblown, in reverberant style; transferral to LP is good, except for loud endings, which are thick. The Britten LP is excellent; some variation, probably due to 78 rpm originals.

The transcription technique has been more successful with Handel than Bach—Harty's and Beecham's, though anachronistic, are consistently tasteful and musical. This offers a wide-range recording of old Harty job (C X 51), somewhat more swollen. I like the old one.

*Reviewed from slow-speed version.

—EDWARD TATNALL CANBY.

NEW EDITIONS

THE Cresset Library, imported from England and published in the United States by the Chanticleer Press of New York City, is one of the most delightful series of reprints that have come my way during many years of critical dealings with such volumes. Physically they must win the approval of readers who like their books to be well designed in all features, including dignified and durable binding, and internally they are packed with good writing of many kinds. Among the ten titles now available (\$2.75 each), under the general editorship of John Hayward, there are at least three old favorites that have known many editions: Gilbert White's "The Natural History of Selbourne," George Borrow's "The Romany Rye," and "Singular Travels, Campaigns, and Adventures of Baron Munchausen," by R. E. Raspe and others. But in this edition White's masterpiece of pioneer naturalism is enriched by James Fisher's learned notes and introduction, and by Claire Oldham's charming woodcuts, while Borrow's Gypsy classic and Munchausen's marvelous yarns are well introduced by Walter Starkie and John Carswell. The remaining volumes, for the most part not so readily come by in satisfactory editions, are "Brief Lives and Other Selected Writings," by John Aubrey; "The Autobiography of Leigh Hunt"; "The Life of George Crabbe," by his son; "The Journeys of Celia Fiennes"; James Hogg's "The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner"; Sheridan Le Fanu's "Uncle Silas"; and "Dominique," by Eugène Fromentin—all with excellent introductions.

Readers who do not know Aubrey have missed much pleasure. He is a bubbling source of information, misinformation, and entertainment. Some will value him chiefly for his scandalous anecdotes and gossip—for such things as the story of Sir Walter Raleigh and the maid of honor, the account of the interesting sport enjoyed by Sir Philip Sydney's famous sister, and the memoir of Dr. Overall's wife, who "was not more beautiful than she was obliging and kind, and was so tender-hearted that (truly) she could scarce deny anyone"—while others will read him for the light he casts on many famous and less than famous characters, and

the glimpses he gives us of a long since vanished way of life. With Leigh Hunt, the tireless journalist and crusader, we are made free of the best English literary society of the early nineteenth century. He was a man who could write of Keats: "The head was a puzzle for the phrenologists, being remarkably small in the skull; a singularity which he had in common with Byron and Shelley, whose hats I could not get on." This is indeed seeing a great "plain," and we, who do not have to worry about Hunt's financial troubles and family, can read him with unalloyed satisfaction. "The Life of George Crabbe"—who nowadays is not allowed even "the darkest inch" in many libraries, although he is a versifier of solid merit—is an interesting, judicious, but in no way brilliant biography. Celia Fiennes, born in 1662, granddaughter of the first Viscount of Saye and Sele, takes us up and down the roads and tracks of Restoration England, and through its cities, towns, and villages, in an informal journal which, as Christopher Morris says, has until now been rare and "known almost solely to bibliophiles or to serious students of the social and architectural history" of her period.

When we come to the novels, James Hogg's tops the trio. This minor masterpiece by "the Ettrick Shepherd," first published in 1824, is a highly original, powerful study of religious mania, which steadily increases its grip on the readers' interest, page by page, as the remarkable story unfolds. "Uncle Silas," pioneer psychological thriller, has had its select company of admirers since 1864, and it can still make nerves tingle while it moves towards its climax of murder and escape. Sir Edward Marsh has given us an excellent translation of "Dominique." It is a fine novel, with many virtues and beauties, but I should hesitate to rank it with "Adolphe" and "Bovary," as does the writer of the jacket note.

A recent batch of Pocket Books is a neat demonstration of how the publishers of these popular reprints bracket a widely diversified audience. Included are "Moby Dick" (abridged), Gardner's "Case of the Empty Tin," Hilton's "So Well Remembered," and "Kim."

—BEN RAY REDMAN.

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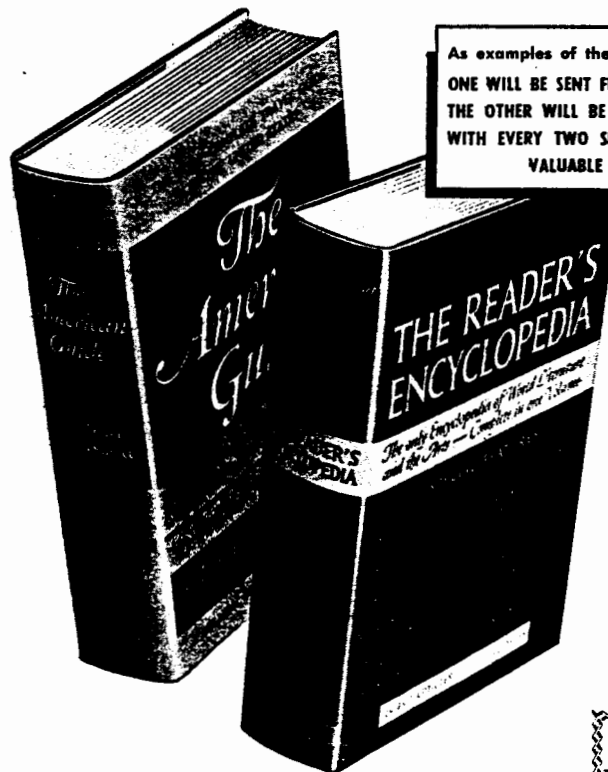
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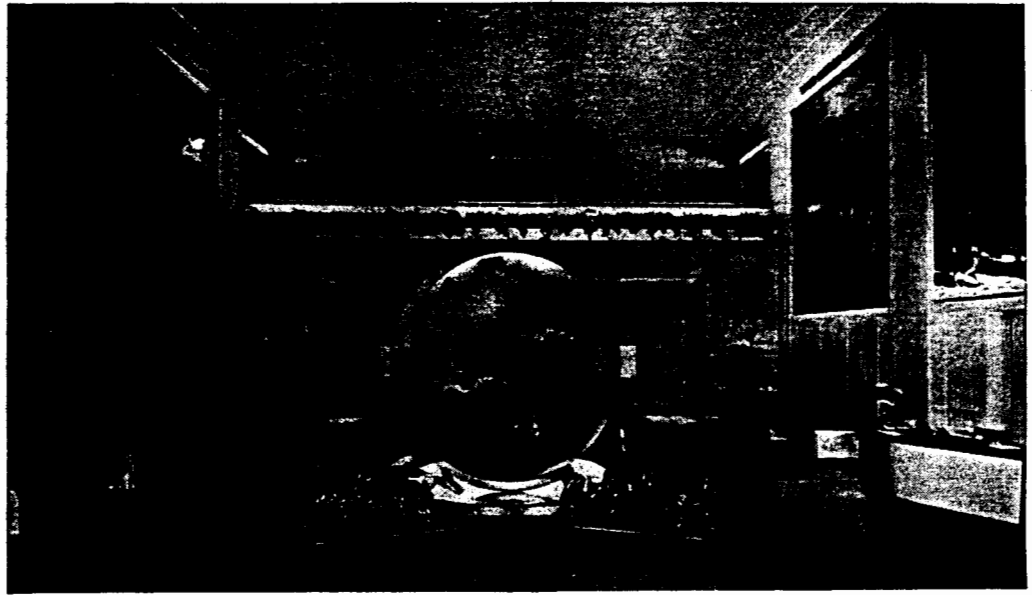
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